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# New England Journal of Public Policy

A Journal of the  
John W. McCormack Institute  
of Public Affairs  
University of Massachusetts Boston

## **New England Journal of Public Policy**

A Journal of the John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs  
University of Massachusetts Boston

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# Editor's Note

*Padraig O'Malley*

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We are pleased to bring you the first issue of the *New England Journal of Public Policy* in the new century. We rejoice that at the stroke of midnight on December 31, 1999, the planet did not implode, meteors did not shower us with the debris of their displeasure with us earthlings, aircraft did not fall out of the sky, catastrophic convulsions in our ecosystems did not engulf us, telecommunication systems functioned with indifferent insouciance to the inner terrors of our crippled imaginations. The world, one minute after January 1, 2000, was yawningly the same as one minute before.

Whether normalcy was the result of saturating the heavens with prayer, the whim of a Divine Hand, an unexpected counterpoise to the exponentially driven hysteria generated by obsession with Y2K compliance, or simply the universe enjoying itself at our expense are matters for conjecture. Or a Ph.D. thesis. Given the prevailing winds of political correctness, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the merits of the two.

But before we abandon our ruminations on the twentieth century, we should perhaps try to give it a little perspective — there is always the remote possibility that we might yet heed the words of George Santayana that those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat its mistakes.

Essentially, when we divest it of the higher-standards-of-living stuff, *it was a century of slaughter*; unparalleled and without precedent in our known history. We perfected more ways of eliminating ourselves than we would ever have thought imaginable — beyond the wildest fantasies of science fiction, beyond our ability to control, and, most difficult to come to terms with, beyond our ability to comprehend. And because we cannot comprehend the obscene consequences of our own actions, we have learned to distance ourselves from them, to dull our senses, embrace the numbness of pervasive insensitivity, to see atrocity as video, the insatiable capacity for human prevarication as the perversity of the few, not as the collective product of the largely consciousnessless many. We have new ways to torture, debase, and extract every last vestige of humanity from our beings in order to prolong life so that we might erase it with more consummate sophistication. No obscenity evokes more than cursory outrage, no levels of disease more than perfunctory acknowledgment, no evil more than the calculus of its political consequences. We send “peacekeeping” armies into regions where genocide has become the first refuge of the normal. We send them with ironclad guarantees that none of their members will have to engage in any activity that might endanger their lives. We send them with the latest technologies at their immediate disposal, but with instructions that they are not to lift a finger to stop massacres taking place before their eyes. We have managed to transmogrify the word *peace* from a thing of hope into a thing of despair.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, one civilian was killed for every eight soldiers who died in war. By the end of the twentieth century that figure had changed utterly

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— the ratio is now nine civilian deaths for every soldier killed.<sup>1</sup> The planned killing of civilians has more strategic advantages than the planned killing of one's armed opponents. Weaponry is for use against the unarmed.

Some random figures: 8 million combatants killed in the First World War; 15 million combatants and between 20 million and 40 million civilians killed in the Second World War; another 35 million deaths are attributable to the nefarious experimentation in social engineering on a grandiose scale by Mao Tse-tung, plus another 10 million in conflict between the Kuomintang government under Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao's "liberation" movement. Stalin's contribution to the slaughter is in the region of 25 million people.

In the last fifty years, some 6 million people have been felled in the killing fields of Viet Nam, Cambodia, South America, Burma, Indonesia, Iraq and Iran, the Gulf War, the Russian conflicts, Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, making our collective contribution to the progress of "civilization" a more than disputatious proposition.<sup>2</sup>

Africa is the bellwether of the madness that has become the hallmark of our "humanity." As we go to press, there are wars in Angola, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Congo, Sudan, and the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo threatens to consume Central Africa, destabilize Namibia and Zimbabwe, and wreak immeasurable damage in the region. In the "new" Nigeria, religious and ethnic pogroms are proliferating, gathering that critical momentum which takes the control of events out of the realm of the rational and into the fathomless depths of the most disturbed recesses of our being. Liberia, Mozambique, and Uganda have only emerged from debilitating internal conflicts.

Since 1960, wars in more than thirty-two African countries have resulted in 7 million deaths and more than 9 million refugees. Half the world's displaced persons "reside" in Africa. By 1994, 21 million people had fled their homes because of violent conflict.<sup>3</sup>

In 64 countries, some 90 million land mines make the act of putting one foot in front of the other a hazardous undertaking. Of these mines, 20 million are buried in Africa. In Angola alone, 8 to 10 million mines lie in wait for the unsuspecting; in Mozambique, the estimate is 2 million.<sup>4</sup>

Nor does one need to "pick on" Africa as the only region in the world wracked by instability, disorder, and widening cracks in the social fissure. The recognition that we are a world with many "deeply divided" societies which are not amenable to resolution is beginning to resonate; indeed, efforts to contain conflicts often ensure only that they will continue in other forms — permutations of historical grievances incubate endless ways of perpetuating themselves.

Thus, you can draw a broad swath across the world: from Northern Ireland through Cyprus to Sri Lanka, with bits and pieces of the former Yugoslavia, Albania, rumps of Romania, Russia, the Commonwealth States, an amalgam of states with heterogeneous and immensely diverse religious and ethnic compositions that pass for sovereign entities; Syria; Iraq and Iran; Palestine and Israel; Iraq/Kuwait; Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Yemen, with intractable contradictions between the push to embrace the modern and the pull of the traditional; the Pacific Rim (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand); India and Pakistan, both wracked internally by intergroup violence and in a perpetual state of readiness for conflict with each other, exacerbated by the fact that they are armed with nuclear weapons; Korea; and China, with rumblings of dissent from undiluted ambitions to annex Taiwan.

In Latin America, one can cast a short net: Brazil simmers with class and ethnic divisions; Ecuador and Peru try to contain their differences, and beneath the facade of normalcy in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador serious tensions bubble.

So much for the global village and the “we’re all in it together” orthodoxy that eulogizes our common humanity in the face of our technological and economic interdependence. Perhaps it would be more accurate to describe ourselves as living in a world of “discontinuous change.” At the end of the century the world was more unstable than it was at the height of the Cold War. Integration and fragmentation intersected in ways that were — and continue to be — a recipe for social, economic, and political disequilibrium.

Adding to our disassociation with the new order of things, we seem unable to find a language that properly expresses the discontinuities that are its chief characteristics. Old labels no longer suffice to express new realities. The “Third World” coinage of the Cold War era is obsolete. The “West,” once the orthodox way of designating advanced economies, no longer has any meaning in that context since Japan is among them and the other Asian countries; until recently they were hailed as economic “tigers” in their own right, until the economic avalanches that smothered them in the wake of the global capital crisis of the late 1990s brought their seemingly self-sustaining booms to a screeching halt. Now we talk about poor countries and rich countries, the North/South divide, the “haves” and “have-nots,” about emerging markets that often find themselves submerged in the murky waters of unpredictable and immensely volatile capital flows. We talk about new roles for international institutions, redefining roles for the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, argue tediously the merits of structural adjustment programs even when the preponderance of evidence shows that they have been more harmful than beneficial to the countries they were supposed to help.

We embrace the concept of a U.S. hegemony that wants to create a new international paradigm — the exercise of power without the exercise of the responsibilities that accompany the exercise of that power, as if power were one more consumer commodity that can be bartered in the marketplace, purchased in credit card installments, payments being made in terms of interest, not principal or principle.

“Is the world a better place after the cold war?” asks Newton Kanhema, a fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Is the developing world getting a better deal in this new era?

On the contrary [he argues], it is getting a raw deal in which it seems to have been brutally short-changed. The debt issue provides a graphic example.

Between 1982 and 1990, total resource flows to developing countries amounted to \$927 billion. During the same period developing countries remitted in debt service alone \$1,345 billion to the creditor countries. Therefore the income/outflow difference between \$1,345 billion and \$927 billion is thus a much understated \$418 billion in the rich countries’ favor.

So, who is subsidizing whom. At the beginning of the 21st century, the countries of the developing world carried a debt of \$2 trillion and their annual repayment was \$306 billion, representing 33 percent of their GDP. Sub-Saharan countries are sacrificing even more, allocating 69 percent of their GDP to debt servicing.<sup>5</sup>

Welcome to the twenty-first century.

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As usual, the essays in this issue of the journal cover a broad spectrum; all should be read within the context of the preceding observations.

In “Balkanizing the Balkans,” Paul Atwood places the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s Kosovo war in the context of the larger issue of NATO expansion. He contends that the question of ethnic cleansing in that province of Serbia was largely exploited by the United States, the creator and most powerful member of the alliance, to



break up the former Yugoslavia, to divide it, and to make it more manageable for Western interests. He further maintains that in the guise of stopping Serb repression, NATO seized an opportunity to build more bases throughout southeastern Europe, including those being constructed in NATO's newest member states — Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. These actions are, he believes, deeply threatening to Russia, positioned as it is in either the former USSR or in former Warsaw Pact nations. The aim of NATO expansion is seen as an effort to weaken Russia, especially in the vital oil-rich Caspian Sea basin, which is being contested for a pipeline to flow either to the west through Turkey and Azerbaijan or through Russia's Caucasus region. NATO expansion also worries China, which fears its largely Moslem, far western provinces will seek some measure of unity with the Moslem republics of the old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. NATO expansion, far from bringing stability to Europe, is inherently destabilizing.

Atwood's article is provocative and challenging and will, I hope, elicit the debate it deserves.

James Jennings, in "Globalization and Race Hierarchy in the United States," addresses the impact of racial and ethnic divisions from a different perspective. His thesis is that national economies have become irreversibly globalized while racial and ethnic divisions continue to be a reality in many societies. He sets out three different scenarios in an attempt to explain the link between globalization and racial and ethnic relations: globalization limits national growth, thus contributing to increased racial and ethnic tensions; globalization does not affect racial and ethnic relations either positively or negatively; and globalization expands domestic economies, consequently helping to reduce racial and ethnic tensions within national borders. His article explores these scenarios and shows that globalization through immigration and movement of capital can mold the nature and contours of race relations in domestic societies.

On domestic issues, although I remind our readers that there no longer are such creatures as domestic issues, that the lessons one country/state/city learns in the course of policymaking and implementation have applications which supersede their use in their immediate environments. Mary Grant, in "Changing Populations, Rules, and Roles," examines what has been happening during the past ten years in public housing agencies across the country, which have been allowed greater discretion in the implementation of policies that affect public housing management. Discretion in public management, she points out, has the potential to be a slippery slope. While managers may have greater flexibility in responding to local need and making the best use of the limited resources available to public housing, the potential exists for risk of conflicting interpretation of policies, unclear program goals, and a conflict in roles. Grant examines these issues against the backdrop of mixed populations, namely, housing policies that enable low-income individuals with disabilities to become eligible for what has traditionally been considered housing for the elderly.

Three other articles wind up the issue.

Author Grace Walton, in "Black Women in Durham Politics, 1950–1996," puts her essay in a rather poignant context, describing it as an "article about black women by a black woman conceived to educate Americans about a different kind of history." It illustrates "the silent political struggles of black women" in Durham, North Carolina, and their gradual acceptance into American politics from 1950 to 1996. It demonstrates that black women's political activity underwent a transformation from grassroots politics to full electoral participation, which brought them to the forefront of Durham politics and that through both types of activity, the unique political consciousness of black women continues to have a great impact on the community's political institutions. But the message of the article has nothing to do with Durham. The message is universal— one with



which black women in South Africa, beginning the long process of empowering themselves after the abolition of apartheid, would readily empathize; indeed, that any woman of color from Durham to Lilongwe in Malawi to Freetown in Sierra Leone to Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo would readily embrace.

Joseph Murray provides us with a New England backdrop in his analysis of a unique program in “Nursing Homes to Medicaid Waiver Programs in Vermont.” He examines the differences between nursing home residents and those who were able to leave nursing homes with the help of the Medicaid Waiver Program in Vermont. Ninety individuals who reentered the community with the aid of such waivers were compared with a random sample of nursing home residents through the use of the Nursing Home Minimum Data Set. The researchers found divergence in four key areas: cognition, continence, treatment categories, and desire to return to the community. Typically, those who left nursing homes for the community were cognitively intact, had moderate continence, received rehabilitative or clinically complex treatments, and expressed a desire to return to the community. Contrary to the prevailing theory, no differences were found between groups in the ability to perform activities of daily living, except for toilet use. This report also found that community-based treatment under the Medicaid waiver was a cost-effective alternative to traditional nursing home care.

Finally, Dierdre Woody, in “Spirituality and Rehabilitation,” explores her experience as a legal intern during her summer 1999 employment at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute in Graterford. Her theme is the role of spirituality in rehabilitation processes in correctional settings. It pays special attention to the sources of faith and inner strength, the nature of spiritual guidance, the roles of values, beliefs, and moral commitments, and the effects of cultural, social, political, and economic forces.

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Two footnotes to this issue. First, in our more recent publications, we have put increasing emphasis on how the global marketplace of ideas and information provide unique opportunities for a common sharing of experiences across national boundaries, indeed, across continents. In this regard, the John W. McCormack Center for Democracy and Development is playing an increasingly active role. With funding from USAID and USIA, we have brought whatever expertise we have acquired at the local, state, and national levels, drawing on veteran — and some not-so-veteran — practitioners of public policy to promote programs in decentralization and local democracy in Cameroon, Mali, Senegal, Namibia, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa and Northern Ireland, and China.

Second, I visited Mozambique in the immediate aftermath of Cyclone Eline and the torrential rains that accompanied it. Mozambique is one of the poorest, if not the poorest country in the world with a per capita income of \$160. After sixteen years of a civil war, conspicuous for the savagery inflicted on the civilian population, Mozambique was slowly beginning to heal. The meager gains it has made in the last five years have been washed away in water: whatever infrastructure existed has collapsed, and Maputo itself is slowly sliding into the Indian Ocean. For a people who never had much hope, there is, for the foreseeable future, none. As I write, millions cling to trees, waiting for relief that will probably never come. Huge swaths of the country are simply inaccessible, leaving the people isolated, without water, food, and shelter. Only when you see young children washing themselves in raw sewage and carrying disease-drenched water home for drinking purposes does the enormity of our inequalities make you want to puke.

But having nothing to begin with, most have nothing to lose — only their lives, and when life is cheap, even that counts for a pittance.

Yet, even the worst off of the worst off greet you with a smile — dignity in the face of war and weather and disease. That we might learn something from them. ❀

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## Notes

1. Justice Richard Goldstone, member of the South African Constitutional Court, former chief prosecutor at the Rwandan and Bosnian War Tribunals, speaking to the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Johannesburg, South Africa, February 20, 2000.
2. Data cited in "Frontiers of Freedom," Number 23, first quarter 2000, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, South Africa.
3. Justin Maleweki, "Peacemaking in Africa," *South Africa Journal of International Affairs* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 7–9.
4. *Ibid.*, 8.
5. "Mounting Inequality Is the Grim Harvest of Skewed World Economic Growth," *Sunday Independent* (South Africa), February 27, 2000.

# Balkanizing the Balkans

Paul L. Atwood

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*This article seeks to place the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Kosovo war in the context of the larger issue of NATO expansion. It argues that the question of ethnic cleansing in that province of Serbia was largely exploited by the United States, the creator and most powerful member of the alliance, to break up the former Yugoslavia, to divide it, and to make it more manageable for Western interests. In the guise of stopping Serb repression, NATO seized an opportunity to build more bases throughout southeastern Europe, including those being constructed in NATO's newest member states, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. These actions are deeply threatening to Russia, positioned as it is in either the former USSR or in former Warsaw Pact nations. The aim of NATO expansion is seen as an effort to weaken Russia, especially in the vital oil-rich Caspian Sea basin, which is being contested for a pipeline to flow either to the west through Turkey and Azerbaijan or through Russia's Caucasus region. NATO expansion also worries China, which fears its largely Moslem, far western provinces will seek some measure of unity with the Moslem republics of the old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. NATO expansion, far from bringing stability to Europe, is inherently destabilizing.*

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They have made a desolation and called it peace.

— Tacitus

The speed with which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) moved into the Balkans in the aftermath of the fall of Communism is stunning in its audacity. This expansion is a far cry from the outlook promoted by NATO's first military commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, shortly after he assumed command in 1950. "If in ten years, all American troops stationed in Europe for national defense purposes have not been returned to the United States, then this whole project will have failed."<sup>1</sup> The establishment of new NATO bases throughout the former Yugoslavia and beyond is seen by Russia as dangerously threatening, portending a new division of Europe and perhaps a new Cold War or worse. If one of the central rationales for NATO's expansion is taken at face value, namely, that the alliance must move eastward to contain conflicts which might lead to mass outflows of refugees to Western Europe, thereby destabilizing NATO members themselves, an endless chain of security commitments looms as more Eastern European nations join. As Senator Richard Lugar once said, "There can be no security at the center without security at the periphery."<sup>2</sup> Thus the stage is being set for renewed conflict with Russia and with the Islamic world that abuts the progressively enlarging security

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zone. China, too, is alarmed at the growth of the North Atlantic alliance. The policies forged by the United States may bring the peace of the sword to the Balkans for the moment, but at what future cost?

The forces that induced the breakup of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s also led to instability in the Balkan communist regimes. Since then, in the guise of quashing ethnic conflicts for “humanitarian” reasons, the United States has backed nationalist-separatist movements throughout Yugoslavia, resulting in the incremental disintegration of the most successful, prosperous, and progressive — though not without important faults — communist/socialist experiments in the region. Beginning with Slovenia in 1991, the United States and other NATO parties have fostered or encouraged independence movements in Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo, their rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding. In March 1999, and in close proximity to the Balkans, three new members — former parties to the Soviet-inspired Warsaw Pact: Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland — were admitted to NATO despite explicit promises to Russia that this would not happen. NATO now has bases in Greece, Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia, Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Kosovo. In January 1999, oil-rich Azerbaijan, a short distance from the Balkans, within the old borders of the Soviet Union itself, requested a NATO base. What seemed inconceivable only two decades ago is now reality. What do U.S. policy-makers view as being at stake? — the United States is the prime mover in this. The most influential members of both parties are agreed on expansion. Would they venture to wage a war in Serbia, in the very backyard of Russia, while ostensibly extending the olive branch of peace and friendship to this erstwhile evil empire?

Once its World War II triumph placed the United States at the top of the global system constructed by Europeans over the last five centuries, NATO has been the creation and tool of this nation to achieve its objectives in Europe since 1949. In popular mythology, the United States entered World War II by default, pushed to the extreme of battle by its enemies. In reality, newly ascendant internationalists in Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration saw a splendid opportunity to inject this country into the war and thereby defeat the Axis with relative ease, simultaneously exploiting the war-induced weaknesses of its allies, then putting the United States at the helm of the system and streamlining it for self-serving reasons.<sup>3</sup> The initial rationale for NATO, the first formal military alliance in U.S. history, was to contain Communism. The American public was led to believe in the late 1940s that the Red Army was poised to invade Western Europe.

We now know that Washington policymakers never believed this to be the case but feared the electoral growth, and hence potential legitimation, of communist parties in Western Europe, especially in France and Italy, in response to dire economic conditions in the wake of World War II. A turn toward Communism or Socialism would have stifled the internationalist objectives of those American elites who had entered World War II precisely to make Europe and Asia safe for their vision of a rational capitalist world order, one which had fractured twice in this century over rivalries among the powers that had created it. U.S. policymakers, wielding national power in the postwar period surpassingly greater than any ever achieved in history, believed an American imperium could establish conditions favorable to a rational global order.

As National Security Council paper number 48, the first blueprint for Cold War strategy, put matters in 1949, “The economic life of the modern world is geared toward expansion [requiring] establishment of conditions favorable to the export of technology and capital and to a liberal trade policy throughout the world.”<sup>4</sup> The Marshall Plan, which provided significant dollar capital to Western Europeans so they could purchase Ameri-



can goods and stimulate trans-Atlantic economic revival, and NATO were “two halves of the same walnut” in President Harry Truman’s phrase. In fact, both were military applications of U.S. foreign policy designed to isolate the Soviets and put them on the defensive while forcing them to prioritize weapons over consumer goods. It was also a way to reduce the former European powers to virtual subsidiaries of the burgeoning America, Inc., for NATO’s *raison d’être* also was driven by deep economic motives. American arms manufacturers, their bankers, and numerous other contractors would provide the basic infrastructure for the military containment of the USSR, with many guaranteed the same profits as during World War II, mostly at U.S. taxpayer expense. Thus domestic and international economic goals and military planning were inseparable, a salient fact that remains just as true to this day.

The rationale adopted in much discussion of the war over Kosovo was that NATO should take upon itself the effort to right a wrong that no other single power or institution, including the United Nations, has been willing or able to do, that is, to stop the ethnic cleansing of Albanians by Serbs and restore their basic human rights. This action is trumpeted as the first exercise of the so-called Clinton doctrine, which posits that, past errors and omissions aside, the United States and its agents will henceforth ride to the rescue to save lives and safeguard human rights when circumstances allow such action without undue cost.

As always, such prescriptions are couched in highly oblique language, but in this case the hypocrisy leaps out. For one thing, one of the NATO allies engaged in air strikes against Serbia on behalf of the ethnically cleansed — in U.S.-manufactured planes flown by U.S.-trained pilots — was Turkey, a nation whose record on human rights is abysmal and whose cleansing of Armenians early in this century provided the precedent for the Nazi genocide. Turkey has also driven at least two million Kurds from their homes, killing many more of them than the Serbs had killed Albanians — up to the time the air war against Serbia began. While it is true that any military attempt by the United States or NATO to stop the Turkish variety of ethnic cleansing would cost a great deal more than the Kosovo operation (something which, of course, is not in the cards), all the United States needs to do is cut off its arms supplies and economic aid to Ankara.

The United States could also have easily induced Indonesia to stop its barbaric activities in East Timor, where Indonesian troops or their paramilitary agents have caused the death of at least one-third of the population since 1975, a genocidal policy if ever there was one, long before the United Nations-mandated plebiscite resulted in an overwhelming vote for independence. Since the United States gave its blessing to Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, selling it the enabling weapons in the first place, this nation shares responsibility for the tragedy there. In both cases — and there are numerous others, such as the atrocities against civilians in Sierra Leone’s civil war and the human tragedy again looming in the Horn of Africa — Washington has been relatively silent, making only symbolic and vacuous noises.

Meanwhile, the mainstream press covers these issues in a manner fundamentally different from its coverage of Kosovo. In a word, a double standard obtains for those despotic governments whose policies are in accord with U.S. international goals. No matter their crimes, however egregious, no serious sanctions will be enforced against the likes of Ankara or Jakarta. Dictatorial regimes like Serbia’s and Cuba’s, which do not play the game according to the rules laid down in Washington, are subject to withering if not cataclysmic punishments.

All of which raises the question of U.S. goals on both a global and a purely European

level. According to the UN Charter, some regional alliances are allowed, but NATO's actions in Kosovo violate that charter. The UN, which is supposed to be the international monitor and peacekeeper, has been hobbled since its birth by great power Security Council disputes and by blatant disregard in Washington. A world order in which the many small and undeveloped nations have more or less the same role in global government as that of individual states in the American republic, for example, California versus Rhode Island, is not the global regime Washington wants.

The role of "globocop" has not fallen by default to the United States; American hegemony over the international system has been the goal of interventionist elites throughout this century. Their vaunted idea of an open world economy in which commodities, capital, and technology flow freely across borders appears magnanimous, but it has been readily apparent that control of resources, industrial infrastructure, and military bases would primarily benefit the United States and the corporations the vision was designed to protect. As James Forrestal, the first secretary of Defense put it, "As long as we can outproduce the world, control the sea and can strike inland with the atomic bomb, we can assume risks otherwise unacceptable."<sup>5</sup> In the conception of American internationalists, the only supranational agencies necessary for global peace and prosperity at that time were the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, backed up by the U.S. military and its atomic monopoly and its alliance partners.

Again, this strategy was buttressed by reference to the threat posed by international Communism, an ideology which posited a much different vision of how to organize a society — its own hypocrisies and shortcomings notwithstanding — one which stood in the way of an American-led world order. Nationalism, whether of the revolutionary variety as in Vietnam or liberal as in Iran until 1953, also obstructed corporate access to the markets and resources of the greater world. As George Kennan, the author of the containment policy, put it in 1948, "We have about 50% of the world's wealth, but only 6.3% of the world's population . . . Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity."<sup>6</sup>

Though the Soviet Union was devastated at the end of World War II and, in the words of historian Melvyn Leffler, "had no capacity to attack American territory and had no ability to damage the American economy,"<sup>7</sup> it was demonized in much the same fashion as the Nazis had been, despite, or really because of, the fact that the Soviets defeated the bulk of the German juggernaut. They then found themselves in possession of much of the same territory formerly controlled by the Nazis, real estate that Washington had wished liberated of Nazi rule on its terms. The Cold War began with a refusal by Washington to permit international control of atomic energy through the UN, coupled with a claim that the Soviets were occupying Eastern Europe illegitimately — virtually every country the USSR occupied had declared war against the Soviets as allies of Hitler. The Soviet Union was occupying Eastern Europe for exactly the same reason the United States occupied Japan. The Cold War was intensified by a campaign to encircle the USSR with strategic bases capable of launching Hiroshima-type bombers. This had the quite predictable effect of stimulating the Soviets to accelerate their atomic bomb project, which succeeded in 1949, and to commit a vast proportion of their gross domestic product to military enlargement and to tighten their totalitarian grip on their satellites. These actions, in turn, were portrayed in the West as further evidence of the communist threat, and so on, leading to an increasingly ratcheted and deadly arms race, which, of course, provided the rationale for NATO, which also came into existence, by no means an unrelated event, in 1949.

The mission of NATO to contain the Soviets remained credible to the bulk of the U.S. citizenry as long as the putative threat remained. When the USSR disintegrated, because of the internal inconsistencies of Stalinism and an economy organized to meet what the Soviets perceived as the Western threat, which stressed guns over butter, NATO's rationale also collapsed. There had always been an unstated, and more important goal, which was to contain Washington's ostensible partners from undertaking independent economic or military policies vis-à-vis the new world order. In the postwar era this meant, according to Leffler, that "neither an integrated Europe, nor a united Germany nor an independent Japan must be allowed to emerge as a third force."<sup>8</sup> Today these policies are constantly reaffirmed, as in the infamous draft of a Pentagon Policy Planning Guidance document, reported by *The New York Times* in 1993, which argued that the United States must continue to dominate the international system by "discouraging the advanced industrial nations from challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger global *or regional* role."<sup>9</sup> (Italics mine.) As one senior State Department official put it, testifying before Congress in 1990 on NATO's future role, "We need NATO now for the same reasons NATO was created." The danger, he continued, was that without American leadership the Europeans would revert to type, "renationalize" their armed forces, play the "old geo-political game," and "shift alliances."<sup>10</sup> Economically, a danger exists that Europe might achieve something like Napoleon's envisioned Continental system or even Hitler's planned autarky. Eastern Europe would provide raw materials and cheap labor while Western Europe would contribute capital and high-tech industries, then close its markets to the United States and compete with American corporations in the larger world. Such a Europe, in Walter Russel Meade's conception, might produce its VCRs in Poland, not China, under U.S. corporate supervision, and "would buy its wheat from Ukraine rather than the Dakotas."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, having been rationalized into existence to stifle Communism, it turns out that NATO was just as much a linchpin of U.S. policy toward Western Europe — a way of containing or at least channeling its Europeanization — and a very big business indeed, one whose multifarious contracts, from military equipment to base construction and maintenance, led directly to the bottom lines of many of the largest U.S. multinational corporations, and from there to the U.S. Treasury. Multibillion-dollar budgets, many of them funded by U.S. taxpayers, were at stake. So were the careers of many U.S. and European officers whose services would presumably no longer be needed, prospects that augured deep cuts in the U.S. and allied military budgets and in corporate contracts, and a potential peace dividend for domestic social programs.

New NATO members and new bases require arms and money. According to a 1996 Congressional Budget Office study, NATO enlargement could cost U.S. taxpayers \$125 billion by 2012, assuming the stability of Europe's security environment. Other studies offer lower figures. The RAND Corporation estimates probable costs of enlargement at between \$30 and \$52 billion. The Pentagon assesses even lower costs — \$27 to \$35 billion — but leaks from the Department of Defense admitted to low-balling figures. "Everybody realized the main priority was to keep costs down to reassure Congress, as well as the Russians," said one unidentified source.<sup>12</sup> Whatever the figures, most of the cash flows directly to U.S.-controlled multinational corporations.

Institutionalized over a half century, NATO had become its own vested interest, one intimately linked to and codependent with the American military-industrial complex. That billions of dollars in annual contracts, salaries, and other expenditures would simply vanish or be put to other uses was inconceivable to those whose investments and careers



were at stake. If NATO was to remain viable, it would require a new and improved mission. No longer needed to thwart the Soviet bear, it would become the policeman of Europe and move audaciously to implement phases of the New World Order reaffirmed in traditional internationalist terms by President George Bush after the Gulf War.

Ostensibly aimed at providing reason and justice to a chaotic globe, this regime is intended to administer a system of international production and distribution headed by the United States for the benefit of the United States and, to the extent necessary to prevent them from bolting the alliance, its Western European allies. The first order of business is Europe itself. As Leffler demonstrated in his exhaustive study of the origins of the Cold War, the aim of Washington in the aftermath of World War II has always been to reopen Eastern Europe to the U.S.-led system. Indeed, the United States entered the war in Europe partly to liberate Central and Eastern Europe from Nazi rule, only to see it occupied by the Soviets in 1945. While the Russians were willing to compromise with their erstwhile allies, selling out nationalist/communist movements elsewhere, including the Balkan nation of Greece, Washington, after FDR's death, employed its economic and military preponderance to demand the East European prize completely on its terms, a position bound to result in Soviet intransigence. The resulting Cold War prevented the integration of the east into the U.S.-led global capitalist system, but the collapse of Soviet-style Communism in 1991 opened opportunities that U.S. policymakers understood and quickly moved to exploit.

Yugoslavia was one nationalist/communist movement that succeeded in remaining outside the Soviet orbit yet resisted Western pressures to conform. Under Marshal Tito, warring ethnic groups, particularly the Croatian Ustashe and the Muslim fascists, both of which had been the tools of the Nazis, and the Serbian Chetniks were suppressed. The newly resuscitated entity Yugoslavia was set on a course of socialist development independent of the USSR and to a lesser extent of the West. Noted for its harsh, totalitarian rule, the Tito regime nevertheless enabled Yugoslavia to prosper far in excess of the Soviet model and allowed a progressive movement that was opposed to tribal hatred and in favor of ethnic reconciliation to emerge.

Over the half century between the end of World War II and the collapse of Communism in the early 1990s, Yugoslavia was considered as a model for ethnic harmony, though this was a romanticization. Extremists kept the ethnic issues alive, at least below the surface, something Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and the late Franjo Tudjman of Croatia would exploit for their own benefit in the 1980s. Yet simultaneously there had grown a decided movement toward ethnic reconciliation in tandem with growing prosperity, the only combination with any prospect of success. Daily life in Yugoslavia's major cities resembled that in the west of Europe, not the dreary poverty and ideological conformity of the Soviet bloc. Belgrade's cafés provided hospitality to a vigorous intelligentsia and artistic establishment, while Sarajevo's population was made up of many families tied by ethnic intermarriage. When the movement against Communism gained momentum, one significant faction throughout the former Yugoslavia desired more political democracy while advocating the retention of those socialist economic institutions that worked, something that did not comport with Western interests. Yugoslavia, which was different from both the West and Russia, showed potential to remain independent of both camps, something that was also anathema to both.

The United States and NATO countries have always said that their primary concern was to end ethnic slaughter, return stability to southeastern Europe, and foster its unity with Western Europe. Still, micronationalist independence movements among



Yugoslavia's ethnic groups were also encouraged to secede from the moment the anti-Communist rebellion emerged. As the most populous and strongest of the ethnic groups, the Serbs quickly became the focus of ethnic rebellion stirred up by ultranationalists among all ethnic minorities. Once the independence of Slovenia was recognized, with the prospect of Croatia to follow, the Serbian nationalists began purging areas of greater Serbia of all other groups, thereby leading directly to war in Croatia and Bosnia and, to a lesser extent at the time, Kosovo. Atrocities became endemic on all sides, further deepening ethnic hatreds and weakening the progressives of all groups who wish to overcome ethnic differences. As Zoran Djindjic, leader of Serbia's Democracy Party put it, "The U.S. spent more on bombs in one day than it ever spent assisting the democracy movement in Serbia."<sup>13</sup>

The Western press focused mainly on Serb crimes, but until the expulsion of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, the worst case of ethnic cleansing took place in the Krajina area of what is now Croatia, where at least 300,000 Serbs were forcibly driven from their homes and many massacred, a fact that received much less attention than atrocities carried out by Serbs. One reason that Serbia wished to displace Kosovar Albanians was to make room for the uprooted Serbs. Today, of course, Kosovo has been virtually cleansed — of Serbs and Roma. One French peacekeeper told reporters that he had been ordered to stand by while ethnic Albanians sought revenge against Serb families.<sup>14</sup> The U.S. public supported the bombing of Serbia because the Clinton administration said that this drastic measure was necessary to prevent genocide. While crimes against humanity certainly occurred, evidence is mounting that nothing approaching race murder was happening in Kosovo, although savage acts against ethnic Albanians intensified once Serbia came under NATO fire.

In the guise of reining in murderous Serbs, NATO continues to break up Yugoslavia as a prelude to privatizing its industries (Yugoslavia's auto industry was much better than the caricature of the Yugo in the Western press, a lampoon called forth by its very success) and ensuring that Western capital gets in on the spoils. It is often overlooked that the former Yugoslavia and especially Belgrade are situated on the Danube, the primary commercial waterway of southern Europe, and Kosovo is the site of Europe's richest silver and lead mines. In Michael Parenti's words, the aim is "to break it up into little neo-colonial, right-wing, ethnic, nationalist banana republics that can be totally kicked around."<sup>15</sup> Just as the rest of the former communist states in East Europe are being "third worldized," so will the former Yugoslavia be impoverished, with its social programs annulled, and opened to Western capitalist investment at bargain-basement rates with extremely cheap labor available.

The U.S. media have systematically spun a myth that Serbia refused to sign the Rambouillet Accords. No such concordance existed. The term "accords" means that both sides had come to a mutually agreed-upon settlement, which was not true. NATO simply demanded that Serbia allow the organization's troops to occupy Kosovo and to transit the rest of Serbia as well. No independent state would sign such an agreement because it patently would surrender national sovereignty, something NATO claims to respect. The Rambouillet wording was designed to guarantee rejection. The Serbs made a counterproposal, offering to allow United Nations forces, with a component of Russian troops, to police the human rights situation in Kosovo. NATO rejected this outright and when Serbia subsequently abjured the NATO proposition, it was demonized as a rejectionist outlaw from the community of nations.

Compare this with the U.S. government's *laissez-faire* stance toward Indonesia's

butcheries in East Timor. UN forces have gone in to stop violence there as a result of pressure by ordinary citizens throughout the world who believe that to do nothing is to be guilty of a double standard. Milosevic is certainly a bloody tyrant but not much different from many others with whom the United States has collaborated, like Suharto in Indonesia, Mobuto in Zaire, the Shah of Iran, and even Saddam Hussein before the Gulf War — and to a great extent with Milosevic himself during the Dayton conferences, when he was promised that no charges of crimes against humanity would be leveled against him for Serb barbarities in Bosnia. The difference is that they played the game Washington's way and for that their crimes were overlooked — even financed. If Milosevic had acceded to NATO demands all along and cooperated with the breakup of Yugoslavia on American terms he would be portrayed in the Western press as a great statesman, and his very real crimes would be played down as indeed they were after the war in Bosnia.

NATO is not yet the global policeman, but it is certainly the gendarme of as much of Europe as it believes it can finesse — a zone that is being progressively enlarged. Many former Soviet clients, fearing the future return of their former overlord, have reached out to NATO, which has leaped into the vacuum left by retreating Russian influence. When the Soviet Union began to break up and announced the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact — the mirror image of NATO — it did so on the basis of strenuous promises that NATO would not exploit Russian weaknesses. But exploit them it has by admitting former Warsaw Pact nations and by entering into negotiations for oil exploration in the Caspian Sea periphery of the former USSR. When we consider that two former national security advisers, Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brezinski, as well as former secretary of State James Baker, former secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and former Treasury secretary Lloyd Benson, Democrats and Republicans alike, are consultants for U.S. oil companies aiming to reap lucrative contracts with the government of Azerbaijan, the real aim of U.S. foreign policy in this part of the world begins to come into focus. Major investors hope the next oil bonanza will result from reserves beneath the Caspian Sea as other sources are expected to diminish.

The U.S. government therefore wants the vital pipeline carrying this resource to travel through the territories of allies, not through Russia. One can only imagine the fallout if a stronger Russia could somehow cut off American access and divert Mexican and Venezuelan oil strictly to its purposes. Yet despite all claims of friendship toward Russia, most Republicans and Democrats support measures that they hope will ensure Western control of this critical asset, much of which was formerly located within the boundaries of the former Soviet Union. The great race to capitalize on the known oil reserves in Russia's former Muslim republics in Central Asia also conflicts with China's policies in that region. Turkic tribes there are poised to secede as well, hoping to align with their Islamic fellows to the west and south. As Brezinski noted in *The Grand Chess Game*, the aim of U.S. policy must be to break up and divide the former Soviet Union. That logic extends to formerly communist Yugoslavia as well, which it seems is gradually being shaped to serve as a launching pad for the next foray farther east.

The British called their competition with Russia for domination in southern and central Asia in the nineteenth century the Great Game. The play was hardly confined to these two powers. Such frolics primed the carnage of the First World War and the multiple holocausts of the second. Hiroshima and Nagasaki ought to have been the proverbial handwriting on the wall warning us of the endgame of such folly. Yet NATO is playing the game for keeps, gambling that its virtuosity can avoid an apocalyptic showdown with Russia, at its weakest condition in over half a century, despite much historical evidence

that when threatened, Russia does not back down and reacts with force. One reason that the Russians have reentered Chechnya with such savagery is to rebuild their former image in the face of what many in Moscow perceive as deliberate tactics on the part of the West to humiliate them. Their claim of bombing strictly military targets is a page torn from NATO's record in Kosovo. China, too, is alarmed. At this rate, a plurality of the UN Security Council at any one time is likely to be composed of NATO members. The notion that the expansion of NATO will foster stability is delusory. Russia and China, frightened by a Western military coalition on the march, are already moving to shore up a tenuous alliance. Even if NATO is momentarily successful in its stratagems, the outlook for a peaceful twenty-first century is inherently corrupted, and we ought not lose sight of the dispiriting fact that the twentieth has been the bloodiest thus far. ❀

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## Notes

1. Eugene J. Carroll, Jr., "NATO Enlargement: To What End?" in *NATO Enlargement: Illusions and Reality*, edited by Ted Galen Carpenter and Barbara Conry (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1998), 199.
2. Richard Lugar, "NATO: Out of Area or Out of Business: A Call for U.S. Leadership to Revive and Define the Alliance." Remarks delivered to the Open Forum of the U.S. State Department, August 2, 1993, 3.
3. In American national mythology, the Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor was a sneak attack. The United States, which supposedly was doing everything in its power to avert conflict, had, in July 1941, completely embargoed oil and steel. On November 25, 1941, it issued what amounted to an ultimatum to Japan demanding that Tokyo quit China and Indochina and abrogate the Axis alliance, a stipulation that amounted to a Hobson's choice for Japan. Historians have long known that the U.S. government was well aware that an attack was coming in the Pacific and that all Pacific commanders had been issued an official war warning. New documentary evidence, in addition to much already known, has shown that American cryptographers knew the attack would be at Pearl Harbor. Whether FDR received this information is debated, but he had a direct pipeline to the Office of Naval Intelligence, which was decoding the material. Quite apart from the evidence, the logic of the situation dictated that Hawaii, as the new headquarters of the U.S. Pacific fleet, would have to be the target if the much weaker Japanese were to have any hope of fighting to a negotiated settlement in their favor. The real issue is why FDR *desired* war. See Robert B. Stinnett, *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* (New York: Free Press, 2000).
4. Quoted in Benjamin Schwarz, "NATO Enlargement and the Inevitable Costs of the American Empire," in Carpenter and Conry, *NATO Enlargement*, 73.
5. Quoted in Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1992), 17.
6. George F. Kennan, Policy Planning Statement 23, "Review of Current Trends U.S. Foreign Policy," February 24, 1948, in *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1948. I* (Part 2), 523–526.
7. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 6.
8. *Ibid.*, 17.
9. Patrick Tyler, "Excerpts from the Pentagon's Plan: Prevent the Emergence of a New Rival," *New York Times*, March 8, 1992.
10. Quoted in Carpenter and Conry, *NATO Enlargement*, 83.
11. Walter Russell Meade, "An American Grand Strategy: The Quest for Order in a Disordered World," *World Policy Journal* 10 (Spring 1993): 21.
12. Carpenter and Conry, *NATO Enlargement*, 1.

13. Quoted in "Why Yugoslavia? The Truth Behind the NATO Bombing." Transcript of Yugoslavian Educational Forum, International Action Center, San Francisco, February 2, 1999.
14. Tim Judah, "Kosovo: Peace Now?" in *New York Review of Books*, August 12, 1999.
15. Michael Parenti, Remarks, Yugoslavian Educational Forum.



# Globalization and Race Hierarchy in the United States

James Jennings

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*National economies have become irreversibly globalized while racial and ethnic divisions continue to be a reality in many societies. The author has set forth three different scenarios in an attempt to explain the link between globalization and racial and ethnic relations: (1) globalization limits national growth, thus contributing to increased racial and ethnic tensions; (2) globalization does not affect racial and ethnic relations either positively or negatively; and (3) globalization expands domestic economies, consequently helping to reduce racial and ethnic tensions within national borders. This article explores these scenarios and shows that globalization through immigration and movement of capital can mold the nature and contours of race relations in domestic societies.*

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At least two prominent observations can be asserted regarding economic and racial developments in the international arena today. One is that national economies are becoming more internationalized than in earlier periods, the other that in many societies racial and ethnic divisions and tensions continue to be a significant facet of social and human relations. An examination of how globalization may be contributing to the improvement or deterioration of racial and ethnic relations is therefore timely. The issue of race and ethnic relations and how international issues may affect them is particularly important for the United States, Brazil, and South Africa. Increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the context of continuing and widening social and economic divisions is evident in all three societies.

The nature of this relationship was posed as a major issue in a 1997 conference sponsored by the Comparative Human Relations Initiative of the Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1997. The discussion of "Beyond Racism: Brazil, South Africa, and the United States" was guided by the following query: What do structural changes in the world economy and the economies of nations portend for relations between the white and black laborers and the poor, as well as relations between the poor and the "elite" in the United States?

This and comparable questions raised by scholars and activists in attendance beg for a revisit to W.E.B. Du Bois's observation, almost one hundred years ago, suggesting that race relations would represent the fundamental social and economic dividing line in the twentieth century. As Du Bois stated in 1900 in London at the July

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23–25 meeting of thirty-two individuals from around the world,

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race — which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair — will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.<sup>1</sup>

Du Bois was touching on the issue of racial divisions not simply as a problem of ignorance and misunderstanding but, more fundamentally, as one of power utilized to maintain colonialism and a racially defined world order.

Du Bois's report remains important for two reasons. First, it identifies the fact that as suggested by the Southern Education Foundation meeting, the "color line" continues to be a significant issue in the international arena.<sup>2</sup> Second, it suggests that the nature of this division is not simply one of attitudes, or individual prejudices between groups of people, but instead, a reflection of power and upwardly skewed international distribution of social, economic, and cultural resources.

How do Du Bois's observations reflect the current situation of possible future developments regarding race and internationalization? There are essentially three scenarios that summarize possible relationships between globalization and race relations. In one, globalization involving increasing international competitive pressures limits national economic growth and generates fiscal crisis in the domestic sector, thereby contributing to racial and ethnic tensions.

Another scenario suggests that globalization does not necessarily contribute to or reduce divisive race relations. The two arenas are separate from each other so that the state of race and ethnic divisions is not treated as relevant to globalization. Race divisions are presumed to be completely determined by political, social, or cultural factors related to characteristics of domestic societies rather than by the impact of international factors.

In a third scenario, it would be argued that globalization contributes to the capacity of domestic societies to respond to racial and ethnic problems and divisions by expanding the economic pie. If there is indeed dislocation of workers and loss of jobs or other kinds of fiscal stress, domestic economies have the capacity, through expanding economies, to retrain and equip workers to compete more effectively in the global market. This is part of the rationale used to generate political support for the adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and especially to neutralize some of the opposition of U.S. organized labor.<sup>3</sup> The remainder of this article explores these scenarios by analyzing some of the historical and germane literature focusing on race and globalization, pointing out that globalization can mold the nature and contours of race relations in domestic societies.

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### **Globalization and Racial and Ethnic Relations**

Racial and ethnic conflict and its relationship to globalization is not an issue confined to the three nations mentioned above. As observed by scholars Rita Jalali and Seymour Martin Lipset, race and ethnicity continue to be factors in determining the stability of nations as well as the quality of international relations. Despite earlier assumptions by both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars that "industrialization, ur-

banization, and the spread of education would reduce ethnic consciousness, and that universalism would replace particularism," they write that "it is now clearly established that the assimilation assumptions are not valid. Most parts of the globe have been touched by ethnic conflict."<sup>4</sup> Certainly the numerous incidents of racial and ethnic conflict and violence and resulting political instability in many places confirm these kinds of observations.

Economist Michael L. Wyzan reiterates: "Few problems are as ubiquitous, as persistent, or as daunting as those concerning the relations among ethnic groups within nations. Virtually no society has been immune to ethnic tension. At any given moment ethnic civil wars, possibly leading to the destruction of the nation itself, rage in . . . diverse settings."<sup>5</sup> This claim is also asserted by Graham E. Fuller, who reminds us that "the present international order of existing state borders — drawn with barely passing regard for the ethnic and cultural wishes of their inhabitants — is now essentially obsolete. The rising forces of nationalism and cultural resurgence are poised to assert themselves. Those states which cannot manage their ethnic minorities in ways that satisfy both past grievances and future aspirations for greater self-determination are destined to break apart. Not the present nation-state but the self-defined ethnic group will become a basic building block of the coming international order."<sup>6</sup> These statements suggest that while on the one hand there are corporate interests seeking greater mobility and control of capital, there is also a concomitant resurgence of nationalism and ethnicity as driving international forces. How these two streams will intersect is key in examining the relationship of globalization and race relations.

Although race and ethnic conflict is widespread in the international arena, there is a strong basis for comparative investigation of the consequent impact of globalization of race and class in these three particular societies as just suggested. George Reid Andrews writes, for instance, "The Brazil/United States comparison has compelling logic. The two countries are the largest multiracial societies in the Americas. They share a history of plantation slavery which extends into the second half of the 1800s. And over the course of the 1900s both societies have confronted the legacy of slavery in the form of deeply entrenched racial inequality."<sup>7</sup> Additionally, these societies have varying degrees of democratic forms of government; each nation has significant human and material resources, as well as a large racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse population; in each society, persons of African descent have been segregated for long periods, even after emancipation, or continue to be segregated informally if not officially. And blacks in the United States, Brazil, and South Africa comprise an overwhelming proportion of the poverty-stricken population in those nations. The state and future of race relations and divisions in these three societies, therefore, offer an important laboratory for understanding the impact of globalization.

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## Globalization

This term suggests a growing internationalization of national economies and concomitant growth in the influence of internationally based economic interests. The view that globalization is not a new development, however, is proposed by Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, professors who opine that the term has been "mythologized." They observe that the level of integration, interdependence, openness,



or however one wishes to describe it, of national economics in the present era is not unprecedented. Indeed, the level of autonomy under the Gold Standard up to the First World War was much less for the advanced economies than it is today. This is not to minimize the level of that integration now, or to ignore the problems of regulation and management it throws up, but merely to register a certain skepticism over whether we have entered a radically new phase in the internationalization of economic activity.<sup>8</sup>

These two authors add that the influence of multinational corporations is overrated. This view is at odds with many others suggesting that globalization represents a fundamental shift in international relations. Sociologist William Robinson notes in contrast to the above assessment that “a new social structure of accumulation is emerging which, for the time in history, is global.”<sup>9</sup>

While the claim that globalization is not really new could be made from a technical definition of internationalism, the key point cited by Robinson is well taken: economic boundaries, unlike political boundaries, are becoming less distinctive between nations. Doug Henwood, author of *Wall Street*, argues that globalization today is not new only in the sense that nations have always been linked economically in the international arena.<sup>10</sup> But what is different about globalization, according to Henwood, is that relatively few multinational corporations wield enormous influence on international economic and political matters.<sup>11</sup> Related to this situation — as explained by William Greider in *One World, Ready or Not* — is the increasing ease and frequency of the mobility of capital across international boundaries as something that tends to differentiate globalization today from earlier periods.<sup>12</sup>

Labor activist Hector Figueroa of the Service Employees International Union in Washington, D.C., believes that a sustained period of slow economic growth and declining living standards is a major facet of globalization.

Globalization matters not only because international trade and investment and multinationals have become more important to the global economy since World War II, but also because these changes have coincided with a period of slow economic growth and declining living standard. While globalization is not necessarily the cause of either, the temptation to extract profits by cheapening the cost of labor and penetrating new markets is greater in a period of slow growth. Wages are driven down further by the higher level of unemployment that results from the replacement of workers by technology or imports.<sup>13</sup>

Within the context of what these authors and others mean by globalization, the United States has a relatively lesser role as a national economy in the international arena than it enjoyed for several decades before the 1970s. But the continuing and dominant role of the United States must be underscored. In their article reviewing the emergence of the global political economy between World War II and the past decade, “The Global Political Economy from Bretton Woods to the 1980s,” political scientists Michael Stohl and Harry R. Targ show that economic interests based in the United States remain powerful players within increasing internationalization of economies, although clearly, there are now other players as well.<sup>14</sup>

The United States no longer has the status of the most prominent economic power in the international arena. This nation must now share the economic stage with others that have acquired considerable assets and markets.<sup>15</sup> In order to remain competitive, the United States has reduced resources and ideological commitment to its

traditional social welfare state, and instead invested heavily in the military and finance capital.

The increasing competition among nations, resulting in market saturation for products, has led to corporate behavior that results in lessening resources being invested in social and human capital in other nations as well. As concluded in one study,

Corporate strategies to meet international competition have resulted in disinvestment, descaling, relocation abroad, and retreat into financial rather than productive activities. These changes, undertaken in part to deal with the pressures of globalization, are only temporary responses to longer-term, more ominous global economic trends. The changes are private, uncoordinated, conflictive, and unsuccessful. The strategies themselves have generated new difficulties, like fiscal crises for particular places and massive unemployment for certain social groups within the United States.<sup>16</sup>

But the causes of these changes are a matter of debate among some scholars.

Political scientist Theodore Lowi proposes instead, that the changes associated with globalization are not ad hoc: "The ideology of a globalizing capitalism has a remarkably rightward tilt. It is rightward in its rejection of any government policies that have even the slightest tendency to redistribute wealth or status. It is rightward also in its support of government policies that use locally enforced social control to address the spillover effects of extreme inequalities."<sup>17</sup> These kinds of changes, whether ad hoc and unplanned, as suggested by some, or ideologically tinged, as claimed by Lowi, are massive in their impact in terms of the quality of life for many people.

At the same time that the U.S. corporate sector seeks to enhance its economic position as a response to greater international competition, the distribution of wealth becomes more unequal in this society. Corporate downsizing has taken place within a context of increasing wealth and income for the richest Americans and corporations. According to a study of the Michael Harrington Center for Democratic Values and Social Change in New York City, "The share of wealth owned by the top 1% has gone from 22% in 1979 to 42% in 1992."<sup>18</sup> And in a report published by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, D.C., it is noted that "the growth in the incomes of the richest one percent of Americans has been so large that just the increase between 1980 and 1990 in the after-tax income of this group equals the total income of the poorest 20 percent of the population."<sup>19</sup> If globalization means that inequitable distributions will increase as a result of technology or other economic dynamics in the international arena, the scenario for domestic economies described briefly by Robert Fisher is valid: "As capital flow increasingly supersedes state control in the global economy, the welfare state faces increasing fiscal crisis."<sup>20</sup> According to a study published by the Human Rights Watch, these capital flows are associated increasingly with racial and ethnic conflict as well as a rise in human rights violations.<sup>21</sup>

The impact of globalization on domestic economies and its local capacity to respond effectively to poverty and related problems is described by Professor Lou Kushnick of the University of Manchester, who studies the social consequences of globalization within a comparative framework of U.S. and British cities. He states,

The major economic restructuring which is following globalization is having disproportionate consequences for people living in the inner-cities of both countries. There have been significant job losses, particularly for unskilled and semi-skilled workers and those without higher education qualifications. These patterns of unequal outcomes are built upon previous patterns of inequality in terms of allocation of public resources.<sup>22</sup>

Another observer notes that international economic pressures are limiting the political capacity of South Africa in responding to racial and ethnic divisions and poverty built earlier on the system of apartheid. Nancy Murray, a U.S. civil rights activist, writes,

The ANC, pressured by advisers from the old regime, economists from the World Bank and [International Money Fund], experts from the business community, and by the volatility of the South African currency . . . stepped back from . . . emphasis on social spending as a way of beginning to overcome the huge economic disparities which were apartheid's legacy and providing millions of poor people with houses, water, electricity, and sewage.<sup>23</sup>

The emergence of greater disparities under a context of increasing globalization is also asserted by Carol Bellamy, executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund. As she stated in Bogota, Colombia, "In some ways, with the globalization of the economy, the focus has been on economic development . . . There's more wealth in the world today but with that great wealth comes greater diversity . . . What's getting worse is the disparity between those that have, and those that do not have."<sup>24</sup> Robinson goes further than this observation, claiming that the process of globalization "is a war of a global rich and powerful minority against the global poor, dispossessed, and outcast majority."<sup>25</sup> Adding urgency to the concern raised by Bellamy, William Robinson states, "In today's global economy, capitalism is less benign, less responsive to the interests of broad majorities around the world, and less accountable to society than ever before."<sup>26</sup> And as reported by David Vidal of the Council of Foreign Relations,

On the one hand, globalization holds the promise of long-term growth and prosperity for all working people, not just those in the United States. This would especially benefit the regions of the world, including Asia, Africa, and Latino America, to which minorities are linked by ancestral or family ties, and would also increase demand for minority talent at home to deal with these emerging markets. For minority communities, these are welcome developments. On the other hand . . . economic globalization is creating within these very same communities a class of economic "losers."<sup>27</sup>

As international processes focus on the accumulation and concentration of wealth, domestic factors contributing to racial and ethnic divisions and tensions are exacerbated. As a matter of fact, globalization of national economies and its effects may be intensifying racial and ethnic divisions and thereby producing more, rather than less social and even violent conflict and tensions in the next millennium.

Increasing racial and ethnic tensions does not necessarily point to Machiavellian manipulation on the part of interests benefiting from the internationalization of domestic economies, although this has occurred in various places. But multinational economic interests that ignore the history of racial and ethnic tensions and violence in domestic arenas, as well as the causes for continuing divisions, is a major prob-



lem. Unfortunately, recent international agreements facilitating economic globalization that focus on increasing profits and enhancing the mobility of capital across national boundaries tend to render this problem invisible. Generally, there is lack of attention to issues like human rights, poverty, and certainly racial and ethnic divisions and how such might be exacerbated by the effects of globalization and accompanying corporate decisions and international agreements.

This failure is encouraged by a belief that the impact of globalization is not completely subject to political action based in, and on behalf of, domestic or national settings. At times this belief is expressed fatalistically, as in a Council of Foreign Affairs report focusing on minority status within a context of globalization: "Because globalization is not an issue that lends itself to organized political action, none of the known models of successful minority interventions in foreign policy seem to apply."<sup>28</sup> Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson take issue with this fatalistic approach regarding the political possibilities for mitigating the effects of globalization. They write that globalization has been presented as an image "so powerful that it has mesmerized analysts and captured political imaginations." But is this really the case? They express a "mixture of skepticism about global economic processes and optimism about the possibilities of control of the international economy and viability of national political strategies."<sup>29</sup>

As nations seek to respond to economic pressures to increase their competitiveness, earlier racial and ethnic divisions, as suggested by these authors, may neutralize political interests seeking to mitigate the effects of globalization and rising concentration of international wealth on domestic social welfare. The function of race divisions for the political neutralization of advocates of social welfare is a model that has many examples in the United States. Racial divisions in this country historically served, in part, to mute political and social opposition to the concentration of wealth, and subsequent constriction of social welfare. This same model, explained in detail later in this report, is applicable to the issue of globalization and its effects on race and ethnic divisions in other societies today.

This thesis is supported in Bill Jordan, *The New Politics of Welfare*. He explains that the new politics of welfare, which has emerged under the national leadership of the United States and England, is an international development associated with three major ideas: "First is its appeal to *national renewal* through a strong work ethic and high rates of participation in the formal economy. The Blair-Clinton orthodoxy asserts the claims of the national polity over individual egoism and international opportunism alike." The "second is its claim of *moral authority* in the implementation of measures to restrict the payment of benefits and put stronger conditions around eligibility for social protection." And the "third is its *denial of the continuing relevance of class and exploitation*, as factors in the analysis of social justice."<sup>30</sup> The new politics of welfare, as described here, is facilitated by an entrenched racial social and economic order, or racial hierarchy. This concept is essential for understanding one of the possible scenarios, described earlier, not only in the United States, but in Brazil and South Africa as well.

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### **Racial Hierarchy in the United States**

The concept of racial hierarchy, as distinct from the more narrowly conceived terms "bigotry" and "racism," is important for studying and understanding the relationship between the rapid increase in wealth inequality in the United States and globalization

and the particular state of race relations in this nation. Racial hierarchy involves a pervasive system of caste based on racial structures. While bigotry and discrimination typically feature government responses to “horizontal” racial relations, racial hierarchy reflects a “vertical” order of power, wealth, and social domination.<sup>31</sup> Racial hierarchy involves a fundamental feature of multiracial societies, as argued by sociologist H. Edward Ransford: “In most multiracial societies, racial groups are found in a hierarchy of power, wealth, and prestige.”<sup>32</sup> Consideration of the continuing existence of racial hierarchy is key to analyzing the nature of connections between race relations and growing inequality in the United States as well as in understanding how international developments influence these factors in other nations.

Racial hierarchy is the social and cultural situation in which blacks continually and consistently occupy lower-status positions than whites, regardless of certain social, political, or economic advances that blacks have realized either as individuals or as a group. This idea is similar to that of political scientist Herman George, “racial subordination.” He describes this term by stating that the “subordination process is essentially a set of political-economic relationships” characterized by four features: “economic exploitation, racism, cultural hegemony, and political exclusion.”<sup>33</sup> Thus, racial hierarchy, or racial subordination, is fundamentally a power relationship that is reflected in different social arenas and facilitated by institutionally determined benefits correlated with racial categories.

Entrenched racial divisions continue to exist in the United States despite key advances in the democratization of this nation.<sup>34</sup> This means, simply, that white life continues to enjoy a higher social and cultural prestige and economic status than black life for no other reasons than its representation of whiteness. A cursory view of race relations in the United States indicates that, at least compared to thirty years ago, racial conditions have vastly improved. Certainly attitudes have changed toward wide support for values related to racial equality in this country. Although the United States has realized much racial progress, as reflected through legislation, court decisions, and amendments to its legally color-blind Constitution, and the belief among much of the national leadership that racial discrimination should no longer be permissible, many would still agree that the state of race relations is in some ways similar to that described by the Kerner Commission Report almost three decades ago — that is, society is characterized by systemic racial divisions — and I would add hierarchy.<sup>35</sup>

Racial hierarchy is manifested economically, educationally, and culturally. Even when such social and class factors as schooling level and income are controlled, there is strong evidence of racial hierarchy in social arenas. Within a context of racial hierarchy in the United States this means that even poor whites — *because they are white* — are much better off than comparable poor blacks; working-class whites as well as middle-class whites are much better off and enjoy a higher status than their respective black counterparts on the basis of social and economic indicators. Other illustrations of racial hierarchy are reflected in the fact that controlling for age, region of the country in which one resides, or schooling level, female-headed white families — although poorer than married couple-headed families — are significantly better off than female-headed black families; the poverty rate for black families headed by a married couple is usually twice the rate of that for white families headed by a married couple; and unemployment rates for blacks are generally higher than those of whites with comparable education and age levels.

Racial hierarchy is internalized by people in the United States so that many of their cultural, aesthetic, or political thinking and decisions are influenced by it. Professor Martin Gilens offers a glimpse of how this operates in terms of political attitudes about social welfare. He writes,

Political issues such as crime and welfare are now widely viewed as "coded" issues that play upon race (or more specifically, upon white Americans' negative view of blacks) without explicitly raising the "race card" . . . But does whites' desire to get tough on crime or their opposition to welfare really stem from their dislike of blacks? Are crime and welfare not pressing problems about which Americans rightly should be concerned, quite apart from any associations these issues may have with race?<sup>36</sup>

His conclusion: "I show that whites' welfare attitudes are indeed strongly influenced by their views of blacks . . . I find that the perception that blacks are lazy has a larger effect on white Americans' welfare policy preferences than does economic self-interest, beliefs about individualism, or views about the poor in general."<sup>37</sup> Further, "Racial attitudes are a powerful influence on white Americans' welfare views . . . racial considerations are the single most important factor shaping whites' views of welfare."<sup>38</sup>

Historically, as well as contemporarily, ethnic groups other than blacks enjoy benefits based on where they stand in relation to the nation's racial hierarchy.<sup>39</sup> This is evident among some Latino groups in the United States, for example. In the case of Puerto Ricans, a racially mixed ethnic group, a number of studies report findings consistent with the proposal of racial hierarchy. Sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Danton point out,

Among all groups in the United States, only Puerto Ricans share blacks' relative inability to assimilate spatially; but this disadvantage stems from the fact that many are of African origin. Although white Puerto Ricans achieve rates of spatial assimilation that are comparable with those found among other ethnic groups, those of African or racially mixed origins experience markedly lower abilities to convert socioeconomic attainments into contact with whites. Once race is controlled, the "paradox of Puerto Rican segregation" disappears.<sup>40</sup>

They state additionally that this situation is not unique, but observable in metropolitan areas across the United States:

The New York metropolitan area houses the largest single concentration of Caribbeans in the United States. Here white Hispanics are moderately segregated from whites . . . whereas those who are black or racially mixed are highly segregated . . . Similar patterns are replicated in all of the other metropolitan areas, a contrast that persists even when adjustments are made for socioeconomic differences between racial categories.<sup>41</sup>

These instances describe facets of racial hierarchy, again a dynamic that is fundamentally different and more institutionalized and culturally ingrained than bigotry or racial discrimination.

The concept of racial hierarchy is applicable to other societies as suggested by political scientist Ronald Walters. He argues that vertical structures of power, paralleling race, have been characteristic of the international arena for a significant period of time.<sup>42</sup> Professor William C. Thiesenhusen examines Brazil and other nations in Latin America and concludes that "the closer to European stock, the more apt a



population cohort is to have a high income level and education; the closer the relationship to indigenous [Indian] or African stock, the more apt the group is to lack land, to have a low income level and little schooling, and to suffer discrimination in the workplace, in schools, and at sites where public services are dispensed.”<sup>43</sup> Earlier, colonial powers utilized racial and ethnic rivalry to maintain political and cultural power. Such rivalries were fueled by economic and social disparities, as well as territorial aggression, triggered and maintained by colonial powers.

The existence of long-standing and culturally entrenched racial hierarchy gives rise to certain ways of thinking about people of color generally, and blacks in particular, which make it difficult for society to eliminate the practice and effects of racial discrimination simply on the basis of legal endorsements and instruments. Recent surveys illustrate effects of society’s racial hierarchy, including the racial attitudes of whites and other groups. Many white Americans, even if they never practice individual acts of bigotry or racial discrimination, nevertheless express beliefs in the genetic, cultural, or intellectual inferiority of black people. In a widely cited survey sponsored by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago in 1990, for example, respondents were asked to compare blacks with other ethnic groups. A majority, 62 percent, of the white respondents believed that blacks are lazier than other groups; a slightly smaller proportion, but still majority of white respondents, 56 percent, felt that blacks were more prone to violence; a majority, 53 percent, also saw blacks as less intelligent, and 78 percent of all the white respondents believe that blacks are less self-supporting and more likely to live off welfare to a larger extent than other groups.<sup>44</sup>

Racial hierarchy is also evident in Brazil and South Africa. In terms of the latter nation, Valerie Moller of the Center for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal in South Africa reports that “black South African households, on average, earn approximately 2.3 times less than colored, 4.5 times less than Indian, and 6.2 times less than white households. Africans have nearly twice the unemployment rate of colored, more than three times the unemployment rate of Indians, and nearly 10 times the unemployment rate of whites.”<sup>45</sup> And Rebecca Reichman describes a similar situation for Brazilian blacks, who systematically occupy lower status in many arenas of social, economic, and political life in that country.<sup>46</sup> This is also the opinion of Jalali and Lipset, who point out that “Latin American scholars have argued that their societies are not racist and that class rather than ethnic cleavages predominate. Yet in spite of racial and ethnic pluralism, stratification correlates with racial ancestry in almost all the nations of the region. The privileged classes are largely of European background and/or are lighter skin-colored than the less affluent strata.”<sup>47</sup>

South Africa and Brazil reflect characteristics of “stratification and subordination” similar to black castelike conditions in the United States. It seems that these characteristics are becoming more entrenched at the same time that national economies are becoming increasingly globalized.<sup>48</sup> In all these nations, people of African descent in particular, and in relatively large numbers, continue to occupy lower social and economic status positions in society even many generations after the ending of slavery. This observation is valid despite the fact that blacks have acquired the political and educational tools that some other groups have utilized effectively for social mobility. In summary of this claim: the distribution of economic, social, and cultural benefits reflects a social and cultural order of race and skin pig-

mentation in these societies.

This assessment is not confined to the United States, also having been evident in Brazil and South Africa, as noted earlier. In the case of the latter, writer Ellis Cose suggests a similar dynamic to racial hierarchy when he notes that “the economic hierarchy is racially skewed.”<sup>49</sup> Historian Iris Berger makes a similar argument in “Solidarity Fragmented: Garment Workers of the Transvaal, 1930–1960,” reviewing how racial and ethnic divisions were exploited by wealth and management to divide the working class in South Africa over several decades.<sup>50</sup>

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### **Using Race to Hide U.S. Economic Inequalities: Historical Examples**

In the United States, racial hierarchy serves to facilitate greater concentrations of wealth among the richest groups essentially by neutralizing political and social challenges based on class tensions. As long as poor people, and working-class people who are not black, do not consider their lesser, and inequitable, economic situation in terms of the particular management or distribution of wealth, they may not choose to challenge policies that increase wealth, even at the expense of their own economic interests. This political situation facilitates increasing economic inequality in both the domestic and the international arenas. In other words, the relationship between race and class inequalities in the United States illustrates that racial divisions and tensions are functional for diffusing class tensions. Consistent with Howard Winant’s observation, U.S. race divisions serve to retard political support for advancing or enhancing social welfare and economic democracy.<sup>51</sup>

The exploitation of racial divisions to protect politically the economic policies and institutional practices aimed at managing and concentrating wealth from populist challenges has been utilized extensively in the United States. There are several historical and contemporary examples of this occurrence. W.E.B. Du Bois, for instance, described how relatively wealthy Southern landowners utilized various government mechanisms to divide the incipient alliances between former slaves and white peasants in the South after the Civil War. Local and state governments captured by former slaves instituted racially and socially progressive public policies that benefited poor whites as well as blacks. In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois showed that such programs included public schools established in some parts of the South for the first time, and extensive public works providing employment to those displaced by the changes wrought by the Civil War.<sup>52</sup> These policies were threatening to interests in the South and North that sought to protect wealth from class-based challenges. These same interests sponsored racial symbolism and scare tactics aimed at white insecurities that served to divide black and white workers and peasants, according to Forest Woods in *Black Scare*.<sup>53</sup>

The exploitation of race to diffuse the effects of economic policies benefiting wealthy interests in U.S. society is evident in other historical periods as well. In another classic work, *Southern Politics*, political scientist V. O. Key repeated some of Du Bois’s observations in his study of Southern life and politics in the decades preceding World War II.<sup>54</sup> A description and analysis of how issues, including racial issues, are presented to the public in ways that predetermine political reactions was provided by E. E. Schattschneider in *The Semisovereign People*.<sup>55</sup> He argues that the

way issues are framed and referenced and presented to the public determines the division of factions which, in turn, represents a key political factor in maintaining power. Other historical examples showing how movements for social change and democracy were sidetracked by the exploitation of race, and the failure of white liberal allies to understand this dynamic, are reviewed in Robert Allen's *Reluctant Reformers*.<sup>56</sup>

In summary of these points, one can illustrate this brief historical overview of the relationship between race and class in the following formulation:

1. Generally, the existence of wealth inequalities, both in the earlier historical and in the contemporary period, benefit a few groups in society at the expense of more numerous groups defined by race and economic status.
2. In multiracial societies such as the United States, race divisions have served to keep exploited white workers and poor people from challenging the policies and behavior of economic and social institutions that perpetuate policies and practices maintaining or increasing wealth inequality; thus, certain kinds of racial divisions become functional for groups benefiting from practices and policies that support or increase wealth inequalities.
3. Racial divisions can serve as a distributive mechanism of resources and benefits within a social context of wealth inequalities; but the utility of race to distribute social benefits enforces the perceptions that are developed in point 2.

This formulation means that racial hierarchy in the United States can be approached as functional in terms of neutralizing political challenges to the distribution and management of wealth; as domestic economies become globalized and associated with greater class inequalities, racial divisions in other societies perform a function similar to that of the United States.

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### **The Relationship between U.S. Globalization and Race Hierarchy**

Professor Nestor P. Rodriguez describes how globalization is molding race relations in the United States:

The late twentieth century has witnessed an increasing globalization of racial and ethnic relations in the United States. Since the mid-1960s, world developments, transnational migration, and the emergence of bi-national immigrant communities have significantly affected the character of intergroup relations in U.S. society. Perhaps not since the initial European colonization of the Americas has the global context been such a prominent macrostructural background for evolving racial and ethnic relations in the United States.<sup>57</sup>

In the United States, in other words, the increasing interdependence and integration of national economies in the international arena are having an impact on immigration and the way receiving societies react politically and socially to immigration.

While Rodriguez focuses on the United States, the impact of immigration associated with the globalization of national economies is occurring in many places, in-



cluding Brazil and South Africa, of course. Immigration is a potentially problematic issue for societies that are undergoing economic contraction or increasing wealth inequality. A system of racial hierarchy permits some management of this kind of international pressure.

An illustration of how racial hierarchy is utilized for purposes of restricting social welfare and expanding social and economic control of poor people and working-class sectors is the attempt to isolate the experiences of African-Americans from those of recent immigrants to the United States. These attempts, in the most extremist and virulent form, can be found in Dinesh D'Souza's *The End of Racism*.<sup>58</sup> Here the author argues that there exists an "African-American perspective" about the possibilities of social and economic mobility that is very different and inferior to that of the "immigrant perspective." The latter emphasizes hard work, while the former merely complains. (It is interesting that some in conservative circles who agree with this differentiation are also the strongest advocates of anti-immigration policies and practices in the United States!) The arbitrary defining of the immigrant experience as validity for the Horatio Alger myth, and praising the immigrant perspective as proof that blacks' calls for social justice as an attempt to hide inferiority precisely is why it is critical, as part of this argument, to invalidate intellectually and ideologically the U.S. civil rights movement in terms of its impact or need to continue.

Consistent with supply side economic theory, the corporate sector's response to globalization has included the reduction and redeployment of the labor force, shutdowns, and layoffs. Corporate leadership has supported tax policies aimed at increasing financial profits through speculation rather than productive investments and urged the deregulation of industrial and corporate development as well as reorganization of labor-management relations and arrangements. The federal government has supported this response by reducing assistance to cities and poor people even as it facilitates the attainment of a greater degree of deregulation and resources for the corporate sector. Thus, another observation of the Michael Harrington Center: "At the same time that corporations are shedding workers, Congress is attempting to devolve the Federal Government and reduce the benefits available to those affected by economic fluctuations and layoffs."<sup>59</sup> Government sacrifices public funding for education and social welfare in response to the needs of the corporate sector and to discourage capital mobility, both productive and financial. Since this posture causes social tensions, however, especially along racial lines, we can also observe relatively large amounts of fiscal resources devoted to crime prevention and imprisonment rather than investment in economically productive ventures.

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### **Responding to Globalization and Improving Race Relation**

At the beginning of this article I proposed the possibility of three scenarios. Is there a basis for believing that globalization could result in the second, more hopeful one? The possibility of such a scenario requires the elevation of human rights in domestic societies and effective antipoverty measures. These issues cannot be the stepchildren to emphasis on the pursuit of profits for the sake of profit. Broadly speaking, the hopeful scenario requires that nations and international bodies challenge the continuing existence of racial hierarchy and poverty as fundamentally contradictory to human rights, or to the possibility of economic growth and productivity.<sup>60</sup>

According to some observers, the history of international bodies' improving considerably the state of human relations, as well as the reduction of racial and ethnic tensions, would dictate against optimism. But, perhaps ironically, globalization may lead to a situation in which such bodies are strengthened in terms of giving voice to workers and poor people across national boundaries. For international bodies to exert influence in resolving racial and ethnic tensions in domestic societies through this kind of voice, a number of approaches must be considered. Several ideas might permit a greater degree of management of the effects of globalization on the part of the United States government's acting on the basis of balancing the needs of workers and poor people with corporate interests.

First, eliminating racial hierarchy in the United States and its accompanying racial beliefs of black inferiority requires the elevation of black life and community in the psyche of whites and others in this society. This is not simply a call for holding black and white hands. This call is similar to Robinson's for addressing "the deep racial/ethnic dimensions of global inequality, starting from the premise that, although racism and ethnic and religious conflicts rest on material fears among groups whose survival is under threat, they take on cultural, ideological, and political dynamics of their own, which must be challenged."<sup>61</sup> And Bill Jordan provides the reason why this development must be challenged. He notes that "the spectre of xenophobic national political movements, of neo-Nazism and neo-fascism, has loomed and faded in the past decade, just as its progenitors did in the 1920s." Jordan adds that although these movements have "never quite broken through into the political mainstream," they have influenced and advanced the conservative direction of mainstream politics and its associated notions of social justice.<sup>62</sup>

Effective challenges to racial and ethnic divisions in the United States and other societies require responses that range from educational strategies that celebrate the nation's multiracialism to the adoption of political practices that seek to ensure the full participation of blacks and other people of color in the electoral as well as other social and economic arenas. In part, this implies that black communities in the United States must be transformed into places that do not overwhelmingly carry the burden of dilapidated housing, unemployed workers, or poverty-stricken individuals and families. The problem of poverty must be acknowledged as significant and requiring international cooperation. The problem of persistent poverty and social inequality in each of these societies cannot be resolved in isolation. Goldsmith and Blakely concluded,

Three features dominate the current situation: America is less influential in world-wide economic affairs; the international economy itself is less stable; and the landscape of domestic industry has been transformed. In these circumstances, and given the more complete integration of U.S. and world markets, it would be almost impossible to eradicate poverty by relying on the usual domestic economic policies, employment and training programs, or efforts that focus on jobs alone.<sup>63</sup>

This is a sobering message — and warning — for the United States as well as Brazil and South Africa. Such widespread changes call for an expansion of social welfare policies as well as greater investment in the urban areas where most blacks reside, as well as economic democracy in the workplace for all people regardless of their status or group.

C. B. Macpherson proposed that the call and pursuit of economic justice and democracy which emerged as a result of changing global conditions in the nine-

teenth century must be strengthened and revived.<sup>64</sup> The growth of industrialism led to calls for democracy to which governments and societies have not fully responded. As globalization intensifies, such calls will increase. Policies that should be considered by national governments include greater investment in the education of workers in order to enhance collective quality of the workforce. Improving living conditions for workers, whether in the form of higher real wages or provisions like free and accessible basic health care or decent housing, are policies that will reduce racial and ethnic tensions and violence. Such policies, adopted across international boundaries, may also mean greater economic productivity shared by more people. Rather than encouraging or protecting greater concentrations of wealth, governments should focus on technological innovations, the improvement of living conditions to elevate the productivity of people, and new and socially balanced business investments. These measures may be costly for profits in the short run, but will prove to be beneficial for racial and ethnic harmony, economic growth, and social stability in the long run — which is only around the corner. ❀

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# Changing Populations, Rules, and Roles

# Conflict and Ambiguity

Mary K. Grant, Ph.D.

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*Over the past ten years, public housing agencies across the country have been allowed greater discretion in the implementation of policies that affect public housing management and who will live there. Discretion in public management has the potential to be a slippery slope. While managers may have greater flexibility in responding to local need and making the best use of the limited resources available to public housing, the potential exists for risk of conflicting interpretation of policies, unclear program goals, and a conflict in roles, for example, What exactly is my job and how do I manage in this new environment? The author examines these issues against the backdrop of mixed populations, namely, housing policies that enable low-income individuals with disabilities to become eligible for what has traditionally been considered housing for the elderly.*

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In my research, on which this article is based, I examined a number of laws with implications for publicly funded housing for the elderly, beginning with the federal Fair Housing Amendments Act (FHAA) of 1988 and culminating with the passage, in 1995, of Massachusetts Chapter 179, the Mixed Population Legislation. I gained additional data during interviews with managers of publicly funded housing and a statewide survey of public housing authorities.

The FHAA explicitly included eligibility for persons with psychiatric disabilities, as well as those whose impairment is caused by alcohol and substance abuse, to reside in housing for the elderly. In comparison with other pieces of legislation enacted simultaneously, the FHAA served as a catalyst for the emotionally charged and complex issue of mixing the elderly with younger disabled persons in the same housing developments. Subsequent pieces of legislation have sought to expand and protect the rights of the affected populations, specifically, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), while others (Title VI) have attempted to remedy the impact of the FHAA on elderly/handicapped housing.

The extent and origin of the resulting problems can be viewed from a number of perspectives. Some housing managers and advocates for the elderly maintain that many of the difficulties within housing for the elderly can be attributed to legislative action and policy decisions that broadened the definition of disability, thus creating easier access to this housing for the non-elderly. Still others maintain that provisions to house people with disabilities were always present within the enabling legislation establishing housing for the elderly. Few familiar with this issue believe that housing these two populations together is an ideal solution, particularly when the mix involves those who are very old and younger persons with psychiatric disabilities or disabilities related to substance abuse.

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When confronted with truly difficult policy decisions, particularly those which involve questions of distribution and equity, we look increasingly to legislative solutions. The imposition of rules has somehow become a remedy for injustice.<sup>1</sup> Rules, particularly those backed up by enforcement mechanisms, can depersonalize issues and lend a sense of objectivity to the decision-making process. It is also true that those affected by the rules — in this case tenants and managers — experience highly personal and extremely subjective feelings. The decision-making process can then be viewed as having a “neat” dividing line, clearly and dispassionately determining who’s in and who’s out. The unfortunate dilemma is that on either side of the line are representatives of relatively powerless groups whose relative powerlessness necessitates legislative protection to ensure that their basic needs are met. Sometimes, however, the cure may be worse than the ailment, and the unintended consequences of the protection — read legislation — may result in further victimization.

The true problem, which is avoided, is not having adequate housing options for either population; thus, policymakers tinker with the rules. Legislation such as the Federal Fair Housing Amendments has been cited by some as a catalyst to the escalating tensions within publicly funded housing for the elderly. But the anxieties may have more to do with the changing needs of tenants who reside in this housing and the burden being placed on housing managers to cope with these needs in an environment of diminishing resources. Additionally, the problems within a building may be further complicated by the conditions in the surrounding community: if the neighborhood is troubled there is a greater likelihood that the building may be troubled.

I examine the complexity of managing within this environment, drawing upon the considerable body of knowledge concerning public policy implementation and the role of street-level bureaucrats.<sup>2</sup> However; the street-level bureaucrats in this case — public housing managers — may require new kinds of training to deal with their shifting responsibilities. Managers may be deft at implementing, or not implementing, a procedure, but dealing with changing, complex human needs may be either a skill with which they are unequipped or one that was not part of their original set of assumptions concerning their roles. Housing managers who signed on to manage property have, by default, acquired a range of new duties and responsibilities. Confronted with an aging and frailer population, and in the absence of an adequate array of housing options for people with disabilities, housing management will continually be challenged; tenants with different needs and abilities, regardless of age, may be at risk.

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### **Mixed Populations: A Legislative Synopsis**

The following pieces of legislation have contributed to the mixed population dilemma and to the complexities of managing publicly funded housing for the elderly. I have briefly summarized several key components within each piece of legislation.

#### ***The Federal Fair Housing Amendments Act***

In September 1988, the U.S. Congress passed the Fair Housing Amendments Act. Prior to enactment, individuals with physical or mental disabilities were excluded from the housing discrimination provisions of Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. In amending Title VIII, the FHAA included people with disabilities as a protected class under the law, extending to them the principle of equal housing opportunity.

In addition to its prohibition of discrimination on the basis of disability or the perception of disability, the FHAA constrains a landlord's ability to deny a tenant's wish for a "reasonable" accommodation. Among the more controversial sections of the act was broadening the term "disability" to include, specifically, persons with mental illness, persons recovering from alcohol and/or substance abuse, and persons with HIV/AIDS as protected groups.

### ***The Americans with Disabilities Act***

Widely hailed as a civil rights law for people with disabilities, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 bars discrimination because of a physical or mental infirmity in employment, transportation, telecommunications, and public accommodation. The ADA defines disability broadly as a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities, having a record of such impairment, or being regarded as having such impairment.

Among the covered disabilities are mobility, visual, speech, and hearing impairments, neurological disabilities, cancer, heart disease, mental retardation, mental illness, HIV, drug addiction, and alcoholism. Users of illegal drugs are not protected under the ADA. Major life activities include the ability to care for oneself, performing manual tasks, walking, hearing, seeing, speaking, breathing, learning, and working. Similar to the FHAA, the ADA prohibits discrimination because of a person's disability, perception of disability, or association with people with disabilities.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Title VI of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992***

As noted by the "Loose Association of Legal Services, Housing Advocates, and Clients" in passing Title VI, Congress wished to "balance the needs of Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) to operate housing that would meet the perceived special needs of elders with the civil rights and service needs of people with disabilities."

Under Title VI, the definition of eligibility for elderly housing changed; disabled and handicapped persons no longer are included within the definition of "elderly families," now being referred to as "disabled families." Additionally, a definition for the near-elderly — persons between the ages of fifty and sixty-one — has been appended. Title VI also gave PHAs the authority to set aside public housing projects or portions of them for the exclusive occupancy of (1) elderly persons only; (2) disabled persons only; and (3) a mixed site of elderly and disabled persons. PHAs, as well as owners of housing subsidized through the Section 8 program, are allowed to institute a cap on the number of non-elderly disabled tenants. Preference may also be given to near-elderly families.

### ***Chapter 179: Mixed Populations***

In October 1995, the Massachusetts legislature passed Chapter 179 of the Acts of 1995. An Act Improving Housing Opportunities for Elders and Non-elderly Persons with Disabilities, which established a cap on the number of non-elderly persons with disabilities who can reside in an elderly housing building or development. Under the law, persons under the age of sixty with disabilities, who otherwise meet the eligibility requirements for subsidized housing, will have preference for 13.5 percent of the units within state-funded, Chapter 667, elderly/disabled public housing developments. Eligible elders will have preference for 86.5 percent of the units. The law also established the Alternative Housing Voucher Program, a rental assistance arrangement that allows eligible non-elderly disabled persons the option of obtaining a rental subsidy with which they can rent an



appropriate housing unit in the private market.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Chapter 179 amended earlier eligibility criteria making an applicant who is a current illegal user — one who has used illegal drugs within the last twelve months — ineligible for housing. A history of alcohol or substance addiction, which constitutes a disability under antidiscrimination laws, no longer constitutes a disability for purposes of eligibility for housing programs.

The U.S. Congress and the Massachusetts legislature have been busy crafting legislation to address the issue of mixed populations in public housing for the elderly. Washington and Boston's reach, however, may exceed their grasp; on the local level, the intent of lawmakers can be subverted by street-level bureaucrats. Unanticipated reality at street level can often intrude in the implementation of public policy developed in the relatively pristine legislative environment.

### ***Implementation Considerations***

The eventual impact of each new piece of legislation, for example, giving waiting list preference to a new group, the near-elderly over the younger disabled, designating buildings for use by one population exclusively, or supplying eligible persons with a voucher to secure housing in the private market, is cause for concern. Within the housing arena, each of these policies could further pit individual interests against community interests. Legislation, policies, and rules that have been designed to address the needs of people with disabilities, as well as the development and distribution of affordable housing, are interpreted and enforced by federal, state, and local governments. According to Thomas Dye, "The relationship between public policy and governmental institutions is very close. Strictly speaking, a policy does not become a public policy until it is adopted, implemented, and enforced by some governmental institution."<sup>5</sup> Although legislation, or rules, exist ostensibly to govern the administration of policies and resulting program, the rules operate within a political context and within an environment in which local actors have the opportunity to exercise discretion in their implementation.

Deborah Stone notes that rules are political by their very nature because they "include and exclude, unite and divide."<sup>6</sup> Rules accomplish this, according to Stone, by "defining different treatment or permissible activity for different people . . . placing people in different categories; those treated favorably by a rule share a common interest in preserving it, while those treated unfavorably share an interest in overturning it."<sup>7</sup>

Michael Lipsky refers to those who implement and enforce rules that have an impact on the mixed population as street-level bureaucrats. He defines them as "public service workers who interact directly with the citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work."<sup>8</sup> Lipsky cautions that while those who occupy public service roles have the ability to exercise a great deal of discretion, they are not "unrestrained by rules, regulations, and directives from above, or by the norms and practices of their occupational group."<sup>9</sup>

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### **Bricks and Mortar versus Services**

Increasingly, the population of public housing for the elderly is changing. As more frail elderly tenants and a new population of younger disabled tenants present themselves, housing managers unwittingly, and sometimes unwillingly, are being placed in the role of service advocate. This responsibility is often beyond the ability and the expertise of the manager.<sup>10</sup> Stephen M. Golant summarized the new reality of the housing manager's role well.

In the past, the role of senior housing manager was primarily defined as that of landlord or property manager. Trained as landlords they had administrative responsibility for collecting rents; renting out vacant units; overseeing lease and contractual compliance; overseeing the maintenance of the buildings and grounds; supervising staff; preparing operation budgets; completing regulatory paperwork; developing residential policies and procedures; screening prospective tenants; handling complaints from tenants, families, and staff and responding to all emergencies. As new responsibilities emerge, housing managers must successfully integrate both the administrative and support functions into their job. In expanding their role, housing managers must establish reasonable boundaries between their responsibilities and those of other professionals serving elderly tenants.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, in a climate where the emphasis has been on bricks and mortar, the new stress of assuming responsibility for identifying services, making referrals, and so on, further challenges the limits of local management capacity as well as state and local resources. With legislative changes, for example, the Federal Fair Housing Amendments and the Americans with Disabilities Act, managers feel that they are hampered even more in their ability to ask questions that could help them understand the nature of a person's disability. Lack of specific information about tenants, and the inability to assess tenant needs, puts managers in what they believe is an untenable situation. In a 1994 study conducted by the McCormack Institute, housing managers revealed a degree of distrust of service providers, particularly providers of mental health services.<sup>12</sup> Managers often were left with the impression that the provider makes guarantees of sticking with a client, remains visible through the application process, but disappears once housing has been secured; the manager is left to deal with a person whose needs may be well beyond the manager's ability to understand, much less meet.

### ***Public Housing: Deregulation and Diminishing Resources***

Coincidental with the changing tenant population, the ever-increasing frail elderly and younger persons with disabilities, public housing managers are operating in a time of diminishing resources and a renewed emphasis on deregulation. Nationally, more than 3,000 local government PHAs own and operate public housing, serving more than 1.2 million households. It is estimated that over 400,000 of them consist of the elderly who live in either family or elderly housing developments.<sup>13</sup> Of the total households served, 75 percent, or close to 900,000, are estimated to have incomes well below established poverty levels.<sup>14</sup>

Waiting lists nationally are at an all-time high, and the length of time spent on a waiting list continues to grow.<sup>15</sup> Over a two-year period, 1996 to 1998, the average waiting time for a public housing unit increased from ten to eleven months. While this may not seem like a significant difference, the average waiting time at the nation's largest public housing authorities increased from twenty-two to thirty-three months. In certain cities, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) estimates, it is possible to spend from five to eight years waiting for a public housing unit and as long as ten years waiting for a Section 8 voucher.<sup>16</sup> In his January 1999 State of the Union address, President Bill Clinton announced that funding would be allocated to support 100,000 new Section 8 vouchers nationally. This number represented a mere drop in the bucket when in Boston, for example, the number of families on the waiting list for a voucher is approaching 5,000 and in New York, the number of families waiting exceeds 200,000.<sup>17</sup>

In 1996, HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research conducted an analysis of

how the Baltimore Housing Authority would fare in a more competitive housing market. While HUD noted that “changes of potentially historic proportion are coming to the nation’s public housing program . . . the precise forms of these changes are not entirely known.” What is known, according to HUD, follows.

For most Housing Agencies, there will be less Federal regulation as well as fewer Federal subsidy dollars than in the past, and there will be more local discretion, responsibility, and license to decide whom to serve and how best to serve them. As the program changes, local conditions would likely eclipse Federal regulations as the basis for HA decisions . . . HAs will need to be more responsive to, and knowledgeable about the state of their local housing markets. They will need to analyze their housing stock, organizational practices, and markets to know what is viable to do, and what is not, if subsidies are reduced.<sup>18</sup>

HUD selected the Baltimore Housing Authority (BHA) as a study site to assess the potential impact of these yet to be determined changes. Throughout the assessment it was assumed that public housing had been changed to a tenant-assisted (voucher) market-based approach in which most federal regulations are eliminated and operating subsidies terminated. The housing authority would be expected to compete in the marketplace for residents and revenues. The study found that without a significant infusion of capital improvement funds, long-term modernization plans, based on projected new revenues, a reduction of the current housing inventory, a shift to a smaller and more decentralized operation, and a movement toward serving a more mixed-income clientele, the housing authority would be faced with:

- Public housing units generally renting at or below market level;
- Most current tenants likely remaining in their current public housing unit, rather than pursuing the tenant-assisted, market-based approach;
- Even with high rates of occupancy, operating costs likely exceeding rent revenues;
- Current modernization work generating only small increases in rent revenues, not enough to exceed operating costs.<sup>19</sup>

The situation for public housing authorities is worrisome. After years of neglecting capital improvements and, in some cases, management responsibility, public housing authorities must position themselves strategically for survival. Will some pursue solutions that direct resources toward razing developments? Will they build, then, on the same sites, fewer units to be marketed to a mixed-income population? Many believe that less dense, modernized developments are desirable, but will such a strategy result in the displacement of current residents and lengthen time on waiting lists? Without direct subsidies, and without additional vouchers, how will the most vulnerable find housing? And, if public housing authorities fail the poorest of the poor, who will fill the gap?

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### **Conflict and Ambiguity**

In case of fire evacuate the building.

Do not use stairways.

Do not use elevator.<sup>20</sup>

As simple declarative statements, laws and policies tend to be vague. Local agencies step into the interpretation gap, feeling free to translate the enabling legislation into practice.<sup>21</sup>



Thus, the implementation of public housing policies and programs at the local level has been left to housing authorities. Jon Pynoos argues, “The federal government could not formulate one set of rules that would apply to the diverse conditions in the over 2,400 agencies that ran public housing programs.”<sup>22</sup> Housing authorities operate within organizational and political structures distinct to the locale. Within them, staff members are assigned the responsibility for carrying out program goals; as Martha Derthick reminds us, the needs and abilities of local staff seldom are considered by those making policy.

Persons who presumably would give painstaking attention to instruction on how to use a pasta machine or a piece of video equipment make major policy decisions with virtually no thought to whether a complex organization of human beings can reasonably be expected to execute their commands. The difference lies in the fact that organizations of human beings, unlike mechanical or electrical devices, are thought to be infinitely pliable. It is of course true that people are more pliable than mechanical or electrical devices — but they are also less predictable and therefore require a greater effort to understand.<sup>23</sup>

Derthick’s observations of one public agency ring true for most others. Certainly, within the public housing arena, it would appear that laws are crafted and policies are handed down to local housing authorities (LHAs) with no regard for organizational capacity, nor for the roles of those who work within the organization. Additionally, conflicting and ambiguous goals within vague laws and policies further muddy the waters.<sup>24</sup> Conflicting and ambiguous goals can also translate into unclear or conflicting role expectations. For managers, implementing public policy regarding mixed populations, conflict and ambiguity abound.

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## Roles and Goals

Conflicting and ambiguous goals frustrate defining the purpose of elderly housing as well. Is the goal to provide shelter or shelter plus care? A simple answer, free from conflict, might be to provide a roof over a “deserving” elder’s head. But a simple answer is elusive, especially as non-elderly disabled persons moved into elderly housing, elderly tenants in residence grew older, with both populations presenting new, mutually contested goals of their own. If the goals of a program change, one might anticipate that the roles of the stakeholders would also change. This is not typical of housing managers, many of whom view their primary role as landlord and profess that they are not equipped to address the changing needs in elderly housing. It may be difficult to know whether their concern stems from their own limitations or from a social construct that views one population as more deserving of housing than another.

The larger issue of needs — who determines which needs shall be met and how — presents a true public policy dilemma. As noted by Lipsky, “The impulse to provide fully, openly, and responsively for citizens’ service needs exists alongside the need to restrict, control, and rationalize service inadequacies or limitations.”<sup>25</sup> Needs most often are determined within a political context; although a majority of people believe that society should help those in need; according to Stone, “An intense conflict [exists] over how to distinguish need from desire. Those needs that a community recognizes as being important, worthwhile, and always controversial, could be characterized as public needs.”<sup>26</sup>

While conflicting and ambiguous goals contribute to implementation problems for public managers, so does the tendency, common within a political environment, to diffuse

responsibility. Efforts to address the needs of individuals seeking services create a tenuous balance with the interests of the general public, who may not currently have the same need but, through the political process, can influence how needs will be met. In a perfect world, policymakers would demonstrate the political will to confront a public need, for instance, that of universal access to safe, decent, affordable housing. However, the present system of addressing needs tends to fix blame, usually on unwitting bureaucracies, rather than fix problems. The larger issue of how a society establishes priorities goes unexamined, the process unchallenged. Lipsky points out that the tension created in the delivery of services to meet a public need is beyond the usual cost benefit analysis.

It is critical to reassure the mass public that their elemental needs will be taken care of if they are not met privately and to rationalize service inadequacies by deflecting responsibility away from government. Through street-level bureaucracies the society organizes the control, restriction, and maintenance of relatively powerless groups. Antagonism is directed toward the agents of social services and control and away from the political forces that ultimately account for the distribution of social and material values. Thus the American system of service delivery and control is shaped by the aspirations of the population and by the requirements of the larger political and social system.<sup>27</sup>

Public desires, shaped within political and social systems, have contributed to the crafting of housing laws and policies fraught with conflicting goals. Some, like the goals articulated in the National Housing Act (NHA) of 1949, were magnanimous. Although laudable in its intent that all Americans have access to safe, decent, affordable housing, the NHA's implementation provisions were not addressed and resources were not forthcoming. Goal attainment, in this case, was left to the discretion of state and local officials and the private market. While essential to ending one set of serious problems, deinstitutionalization, in the absence of provisions to provide community care, gave rise to another. Among its many provisions, the Americans with Disabilities Act requires reasonable accommodation; however, much of the discretion concerning the test of reasonableness is left for the accommodating provider. Just as there can be conflicting goals *within* a law or policy, the potential exists for conflict *between* laws and policies that may be implemented within the same arena. For example, conflict is inherent in implementing both the FHAA and Title VI; whereas the FHAA stipulates that persons with disabilities are not to be denied access to housing, Title VI, although providing alternatives, can limit choice, and ultimately access.

Competing and conflicting goals may have the effect of pitting the needs of the client against the goals of the organization. Housing managers wish to serve as many people as facilities can accommodate; they tend to see applicants and residents as individuals, attempting to manage cases individually. Policymakers, however, must view people as demographic groups, and the product of their deliberations is targeted toward entire cohorts. In the former instance the client is the applicant, the organization the local housing authority; in the latter, the LHA's role is flip-flopped, with the authority as the client and the relevant legislature playing the role of organization.

For managers, the experience of conflict is palpable, both in the extent to which they feel the inherent conflicts and in the extent to which that conflict comes to bear on a manager's effectiveness in implementing housing policies and administering housing programs. For example, managers may argue that an apartment occupied by a non-elderly disabled tenant is essentially unavailable for the next thirty years. However, the same could be said for an elderly tenant's apartment. One manager interviewed during a 1994

McCormack Institute study of mixed populations told of an elderly couple, husband and wife in their early nineties, who had moved into an apartment when both were sixty-two. Comments concerning younger tenants taking a unit “off-line” or out of the inventory reveal both a conflict and perhaps a hidden bias that could influence a manager’s discretion in filling a unit. Conflict may also emerge from differences within peer or reference groups, some managers believing that with the right balance of services the mix can work; while others are emphatic that under no circumstance could it work.<sup>28</sup>

Table 1 provides an overview of several dominant and conflicting observations made by housing managers concerning tenant needs and concerns as well as program goals and management roles. Observations in column 1 reflect some of the issues that are of concern to housing managers. An opposite set of conflicting, if not contradictory observations, detailed in column 2, were made by the same group.

Shifting public sentiment and the redefining of public needs have resulted in new laws and changing housing policies. It is not uncommon for housing managers to express a degree of frustration with state and federal bureaucracies; a source of that frustration is often identified as the lack of clearly articulated rules. Despite these frustrations (or, perhaps, because of them) local housing authorities have pursued remedies to the mixed population dilemma which have resulted in equally vague legislative solutions. Conflict and ambiguity emerges as various pieces of legislation have been implemented; some of these are identified in Table 2.

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## **Conflicting and Ambiguous Roles:**

### **Manager or Service Provider?**

Housing managers identify their primary role as that of landlord, yet most acknowledge that both the elderly and the non-elderly disabled populations require services to support a successful tenancy. When responding to a conflict, most take steps to identify a service need rather than pursue eviction. In many instances, managers may feel that they are stepping from their clearly understood role into another, somewhat ambiguous role, which is in conflict with the “landlord” role. While the elderly have been identified by many as the *entitled* beneficiary to elderly public housing, managers acknowledge that policies crafted and actions taken have let both populations down. With little doubt, in times of trouble or in an effort to stave off trouble, managers look first to residents’ families. Unfortunately in these cases, family structures are unreliable. The very elderly, living alone, may have outlived their families. Family members of a younger disabled person may have little involvement in that person’s life. Thus, despite their own misgivings, many managers assume, by default, duties that may once have been performed by family.

Mental health issues among the non-elderly population are often cited as a serious concern. Others recognize that mental health is also a serious issue for the elderly; as recorded in the literature, as the population ages, dementia emerges as a serious concern. Whether the cause is mental illness or dementia, the reduced capacity of young or old to process information and live up to the obligations of their lease can lead to behavior that violates the lease, providing grounds for eviction. Once again the unwilling manager is thrust into conflicting roles. Does he or she exercise management’s right to evict or don the less comfortable mantle of advocate and provider? A similar conflict exists concerning alcohol and substance abuse. Typically, while managers are equally divided on the gravity of alcohol abuse among the elderly, they are clear in their opinion that alcohol abuse is an issue for the non-elderly. Substance abuse, many feel, is an issue among the



Table 1

**Conflicting Need, Goals, and Roles**

**Column 1: Needs, Goals, and Roles**

**Column 2: Conflicting Observation**

Services are necessary to make the mix work.	The manager's primary role is landlord, not service provider.
Mental health and alcohol and substance abuse are all considered problem areas.	Managers acknowledge the problems but report limited training in these areas.
Conditions of the property or properties have an impact on the morale of tenants and contribute to overall feelings of safety.	Properties are in need of repairs but resources are inadequate or nonexistent.
Identification of the buildings as elderly housing has contributed to the current problem.	Housing authorities may have the option of designating buildings and floors for the exclusive use of one population.
Family involvement is important to supporting a successful tenancy.	Family involvement is limited and in many cases nonexistent.
Conflicts between the elderly and the non-elderly are significant and ongoing.	Many managers seek help from social services, or family, rather than pursuing eviction. Preserving tenancy takes precedent over eliminating conflict.
Age difference is the greatest problem.	Psychiatric issues among the non-elderly are the greatest problem.
Managers believe that safety is a big issue for the elderly.	Sixty percent of the managers who responded to questions concerning safety believe that their elderly tenants feel fairly safe; 31 percent believe that they feel very safe.
Managers believe that the elderly are fearful.	However, 91 percent of the tenants who responded to the 1994 McCormack Institute survey indicated they felt safe; 81 percent of those respondents were elderly.
There is strong sentiment among managers that the elderly should not have to live as they do and that the mix is bad for both groups of tenants.	However, 90 percent of the tenants who responded to the 1994 McCormack Institute survey reported that they liked where they lived; 81 percent of those respondents were elderly. The reasons were varied, but overall most expressed the sentiment that where they lived was "home," not housing.
The age difference is often reported as the greatest issue, that is, the old and young living together.	However, the populations within elderly developments are diverse: old-old, young-young, middle-young, old-disabled, and so forth.

Table 2

Conflict and Ambiguity within and between Legislation

Legislation Implementation Issue

Managers report that legislation is not fully understood.

Some managers report that they are quite familiar with the various laws.

Managers indicate that legislation often makes it more difficult to do their job.

The Fair Housing Amendments Act, as reported by managers, has had a negative effect on elderly housing. (This sentiment is shared by others, such as NAHRO.)

The Americans with Disabilities Act, according to managers, restricts their ability to screen applicants, namely, non-elderly disabled tenants, and manage properties.

According to the legislation, designation plans under Title VI require a service component.

The FHAA and ADA expanded eligibility for the non-elderly disabled.

Expanding eligibility criteria for the non-elderly disabled, coupled with issues that may result from tenants aging in place, has resulted in an increase in the numbers and variety of tenants' service needs.

Policies of deinstitutionalization, facility consolidation, and hospital downsizing, despite the absence of services and housing, had among their objectives reintegration of persons with disabilities into the communities or least restrictive settings.

Conflicting Perspective

However, most managers also report that, to varying degrees, they are implementing legislation.

However, some of these same managers indicate that they are not implementing or complying fully.

However, managers and housing authorities also propose solutions that would likely require some legislative action; further, legislative remedies such as Title VI have been aggressively pursued by organizations that represent local housing authorities.

However, the majority of survey respondents indicated that for the most part, the FHAA has been an effective piece of legislation for improving the housing situation of the elderly.

However, many managers indicate that for the most part, the ADA has been an effective piece of legislation for improving the housing situation of the elderly.

However, managers indicate that their primary role is to provide housing, not services.

Title VI and Chapter 179 place limits on eligibility for the non-elderly disabled.

Despite the increased need for services, and the numbers of managers who indicate that, for many, services are necessary to support successful tenancy, most managers continue to identify their primary role as landlord, not service provider.

Title VI allows for segregation of buildings for the exclusive use of a designated population.

younger population and worth watching among the elderly. However, managers also report that among the elderly there are concerns regarding misuse of prescription medications. Clearly, these issues present a service need. Again the questions: Who provides the service? Who is responsible?

A more subtle question hides in the dynamics of demographics. Policymakers see two distinct groups, each with a range of needs. Frequently, the problems are neatly ascribed to differences in age and lifestyle between the two groups. But what line divides the populations? As the younger disabled residents age in housing considered reserved for the elderly, attributing problems to age differences becomes less legitimate. Ultimately, the non-disabled elderly become disabled elderly, the non-elderly disabled join them as disabled elderly, and new, younger non-elderly disabled move into "housing for the elderly." For policymakers and housing managers, the present conflict and ambiguity may be rudimentary compared to what is yet to come.

Safety emerges as another theme. While housing managers indicate that elderly tenants worry a great deal about safety, very few managers report that *their* tenants, regardless of age, feel unsafe. Tenants of elderly housing surveyed by the McCormack Institute reported that most felt safe; during interviews, most housing managers asserted that *their* properties *are* safe. One wonders then, From whence comes this threat to safety? In much of the heated debate surrounding mixed populations, frightening behavior and awful crimes have been attributed to non-elderly tenants, allowing fear to become an additional wedge to exclude younger persons from the housing. Sadly, the issue of safety extends beyond elderly housing. Witness the tragedies of violence in schools once considered a safe haven for children. Should public schools follow the lead of public housing and move to segment or create alternative educational structures for students with disabilities?

Defining the problem becomes tangled in a diversity of perspectives. Stakeholders tend to see the issue through the prism of their specific viewpoint, developing solutions weighted toward their respective interest group. However, the managers of public housing are in the trenches; it is from those trenches that the most revealing, most trenchant, and most poignant thoughts are heard.

Those on the front lines, the managers, do not dispute the need for public housing among people with disabilities; nor do they deny that society has an obligation to people with disabilities. In spite of strong feelings regarding the propriety of mixing younger persons with disabilities and the elderly, managers continue to work hard to preserve tenancies, even those of the most obstinate residents. Eviction is considered an unfortunate last resort. But the best efforts of managers to make the mix work may suffer from their restricted role as public housing property manager; despite their best intentions, the managers must also act on behalf of other interested parties, discussed in greater detail below.

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### **Conflicting and Ambiguous Roles: Manager or Advocate?**

Advocacy roles may not be compatible with the organizational point of view of a housing authority or its funding sources. To be an advocate, Lipsky maintains, one must act on behalf of an individual or collection of individuals. Within the mixed-populations dilemma, advocate is one of the more difficult roles that housing managers have assumed, if not directly, then through the Massachusetts chapter of the National Association of



Housing Rehabilitation Officials (Mass. NAHRO), a housing authority trade association. Mass. NAHRO's public posture could be interpreted as advocating for the needs of the elderly, a popular constituency. Mass. NAHRO leaves the advocacy work for the non-elderly to disability organizations and advocates, perhaps losing an opportunity to join and advocate collectively concerning issues of affordable housing. While advocacy may be incompatible with controlling clients, conversely, through its restricted advocacy, Mass. NAHRO might yet exercise the ultimate control, limiting the organization's chosen population access to a public resource.

Further illuminating the self-imposed restriction on their role is the managers' identification with Mass. NAHRO as a primary peer reference group. For managers of public elderly housing, peers are colleagues and fellow workers who understand the pressures of the job, appreciate the complexities that exist in working with a mixed population, and empathize with each other. Although other housing advocacy groups operate in Massachusetts, some with identical interests, but not limited to Mass. NAHRO's agenda, fewer managers belong to other housing associations with representation beyond the traditional housing/landlord interest group. For instance, the Massachusetts Citizens Housing and Planning Association (CHAPA) advocates for a housing strategy that includes policies and legislation which support local housing authorities; and housing authorities are represented on CHAPA's board. CHAPA, however, also counts among its members academics, community-based organizations, and both nonprofit and for-profit housing developers. While CHAPA's agenda may be inclusive of Mass. NAHRO's interests, Mass. NAHRO does not necessarily support the broader agenda of CHAPA. CHAPA represents housing issues; Mass. NAHRO represents housing authorities, thus the scarcity of public housing managers among CHAPA's membership. This is consistent with the managers' limitation on their role in the mixed-populations issue.

Those with whom managers choose to associate is more than an inside-the-industry issue. To a large extent, the public's attitude is shaped by individual experience with public housing in local neighborhoods. Unless directly affected, the public's expectations are likely to be limited to a general sense that decent housing for the poor should be provided; although the "not in my back yard (NIMBY)" phenomenon can come into play, it is not usually connected with housing for the elderly. If managers of public housing empower their trade association to speak for them at the policy level, those statements become the managers' de facto public policy statements. Thus, a passive membership in a trade association can result in a public posture, or public perception, which may signal that public housing managers do not support public housing for non-elderly people with disabilities. Goal orientation within peer groups may also revolve around problem-solving strategies that focus on ways to reduce work pressures. If this is true, one might argue that efforts to limit the numbers of younger disabled, separating the populations, et cetera, may alleviate certain housing management pressures while doing little to solve the housing problems faced by both populations. While housing managers interact with them, tenants would not be among the managers' primary reference group.<sup>29</sup> Tenants are an important group in defining managers' roles, for instance, performing service and doing advocacy work, but they are not considered by management to know much about the world of housing, the difficulties faced by management, and what managers must do to make their facilities work.

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## **Other Factors That Influence Implementation**

Conflicting goals, roles in flux, and changing laws and policies all reverberate through implementation. Further, "third party sponsors" may intrude, advocating for applicants or current tenants who may be overwhelmed by complicated written policies and rules that managers endeavor to implement.<sup>30</sup> These third parties include social service agencies, politicians, and board members.<sup>31</sup> A reciprocal relationship exists between housing managers and third parties. For example, social service agencies trying to locate housing for their clients depend on the good will of housing professionals. Housing managers, in spite of their inherent role conflict, turn to the service agencies when tenants run into difficulty. Managers often express great frustration concerning the role of service agencies; from the managers' perspective, some agencies consider their work complete when they have secured housing for a client. The social service agency disappears once the client becomes a tenant, and the case becomes a housing authority problem. On the other hand, agency workers who deal regularly with a local housing authority may come to be regarded as part of the same peer reference group, the workers becoming more closely identified with the housing managers than their mutual clients.<sup>32</sup>

Through control of resources or support of legislative initiatives, politicians have a special ability to exert influence over implementation. In some instances, the role of a politician is simply to demonstrate to a constituent that he or she has acted on the constituent's behalf, typically by making a phone call or sending a letter expressing an interest in the housing or employment need. This is a no-lose situation for the politician, who can claim success if the constituent's need is met or blame the housing authority if the need is unmet. As blame is transferred to the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy falls back on the rules and regulations. The housing authority needs the politician to support its political agenda, to protect the authority in the budget process, to ease the land acquisition process, to limit access to public housing by undesirables, to eliminate barriers to razing housing, and for passing new legislation that may enhance control of rental subsidies in the area or provide new management tools.

Each local housing authority is overseen by a board of directors, which is either appointed by the chief executive officer for the locality or elected to office. The board has decision-making power, sets policy, and in many cases influences staffing, all of which affects a manager's ability to implement. An executive director I interviewed dealt with an extremely political board with a tendency to micromanage. To limit some of the board's meddling, he negotiated the stipulation in his contract that, as executive director, he had the exclusive power to hire and fire staff, thus limiting the board's ability to exercise direct influence over personnel matters. That any executive director would be forced to negotiate such a basic responsibility reflects poorly on a board of directors. In a perfect world the board would have one employee, the executive director, who hires, fires, supervises, and evaluates all other staff. Anything less removes the "executive" from the title, as well as from the job.

Within the current political climate of devolution and decentralization it is likely that even more discretion will be shifted to the local level, therefore requiring a greater degree of professionalism in the field of housing management. Managers with the skill to exercise discretion in a way that does not limit access are more likely to succeed in that brave new world. As Pynoos suggests, a manager's success depends not only on his knowledge of the physical plant and getting tenants to pay rent on time, "but to skills of advocacy, tenant relations, community organizing, tenant development, and linkages to the sur-

rounding community.”<sup>33</sup> Presumably, the mixing of these populations will continue, so coherent discussions around vague goals such as building community may be difficult to arrange. While managers believe that with more detailed information concerning an applicant’s or tenant’s background and disability, they may be better equipped to make decisions about how to place this person, it may be unrealistic to believe that policies which would allow discretion could be developed consistently. These may be clinical and social decisions that managers are neither qualified nor prepared to make in a nondiscriminatory fashion.

While many housing managers indicate that they have participated in limited training concerning issues within the developments they manage, Lipsky contends that for many street-level bureaucrats, on-the-job training is likely to be more effective than classroom learning. “Worker training is less important for practice than the nature of working conditions themselves. Without a supportive network of working peer relationships, training to improve the capacity of workers is likely to wash out under the pressure of the work context.”<sup>34</sup>

The aggregate profile of housing managers reveals differences in their backgrounds and orientations. Prior experience and education may not be a statistically significant predictor of whether a manager understands or implements legislation or how she or he may feel about the mix itself. But prior personal or deliberate professional experience with disability or aging may help raise awareness and sensitivity to the special needs of some residents. In these cases, managers are more likely to believe that given the correct supports, the problems are not insurmountable.

Examination of the characteristics of respondents in light of Pynoos’s suggestion that to be successful, housing managers must broaden their skill set indicates that they would benefit from extensive training or have greater incentives to move from their primary role of landlord into a new mode of operation. The model for training becomes important as well, if we assume that Lipsky is correct in his assertion that on-the-job training for this group is better received and may have a more lasting impact. This could explain why management participation at non-property-management-related training is typically low. The value of learning management of the physical aspects of a property may be apparent; it is obvious that physical plant management is tied to achieving career goals and increased opportunities within the property management field.

The difficulties in elderly public housing, for instance, limited resources and absence of services, are further complicated by vague policies and rules. Such ambivalence creates ample opportunity for conflicting interpretations and inequitable implementation of programs. One must also acknowledge the influence of third parties as a piece of the political landscape.

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## Summary of the Issues

The elderly public housing inventory was never designed to house large numbers of younger people with mental illness. The “handicapped” designation that accompanies the title elderly/handicapped housing was meant to serve a very small number of physically handicapped younger people who needed features like elevators, wheel-chairs-accessible apartments, grab bars, et cetera. For advocates to insist that the intent of the original legislation was to facilitate the downsizing and closing of state mental hospitals is ludicrous. While the deinstitutionalization concept is a good one, in order to work properly it must include money and housing search assistance for the clients and a well-funded follow-up program of a permanent nature.<sup>35</sup>



This comment illustrates the perspective that many who work in housing management share. While elderly housing was not considered part of the long-term plan concerning hospital downsizing, the 1988 Federal Fair Housing Amendments Act, making certain that persons with mental illness were not excluded from housing accessible to people with disabilities, may have been an all too common legislative afterthought. After several years of downsizing and consolidation, and little in the way of community care and adequate housing, public housing for the elderly was pursued as a viable option for housing this population. Attempts to simplify the issue of mixing elderly and younger persons with disabilities in the same residence can be found in observations that cast the problem as one of threats and fear or irreconcilable lifestyle differences and others that attribute it to managers' preferring to house one kind of tenant over another. Although one cannot hang on to these reasons, the statements cannot simply be dismissed. The fact is that all these issues come into play. It is true that there are problems within many public housing developments. Deferred maintenance has contributed to broader physical problems within the structures. As elderly tenants enjoy a longer life, once-active senior citizens are aging in place, becoming more frail and less independent; to maintain and maximize their independence, the non-elderly disabled tenants must cobble together services inside a system characterized as unhelpful and deficient. Collectively, these populations hoped for more but settled for less.

Among the ranks of elderly tenants are the dwindling members of the World War II generation; Tom Brokaw's *Greatest Generation* came of age in a time when elders appeared to be treated with greater respect and family systems remained intact.<sup>36</sup> Entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare, along with the availability of affordable public housing for the elderly, allowed society to indulge in the comfortable notion that one's "golden years" would be honored and economically secure. Non-elderly disabled tenants represent a group that is not only diverse in customary demographics but further diversified by their disabilities as well as their abilities. This group includes the extremely able, mobility-impaired individuals who, having fought long and hard for independence, moved out of nursing homes and hospitals into communities only to be greeted by a less-than-enthusiastic welcome. Among the population of people with disabilities are some who, as a result of the nature and extent of their disability, for instance, persons with serious mental illness, may be less able but no less deserving. Many of the latter group gained their "independence" because society could no longer ignore the abysmal conditions in institutions established to provide care and rehabilitation. With raised expectations and a sense of what is possible, the elderly and the non-elderly disabled found themselves in the same economic tier, forced into association by poverty and competing for the same housing. Uneasy neighbors, indeed.

In the middle of this awkward living arrangement stand the public housing managers. Trained and certified as professional property managers, they are charged with managing the deteriorating buildings in their charge and the impact of public disinvestment on the morale of the community, staff, and residents alike. Although the managers literally have the keys to open and close doors for those seeking shelter, they do so in a public-sector industry that has long been maligned and underfunded. In Massachusetts, where the managers are the front line in 250 communities, they are expected to make order out of chaos, to strike a balance between vague legislation, conflicting policies, waffling politics, and competing values in their locales. Some managers come to the job well rounded, with skills and experience that equip them to tackle many complex issues; others have little education or experience outside of housing. They may know bricks and mortar very

well, but less concrete, less tangible issues, like aging, disability, and poverty sometimes confound them, especially in the political environment in which they work.

While this article does not focus on caregiving issues and practices, the stress that exists within a family trying to provide care to an aging, frail relative or a family member with a chronic disability is not difficult to discern. Nearby family might have contact or be welcomed by a less able family member. But to shoulder caregiving responsibilities on top of other family obligations, work commitments, economic pressures, geographical distances, and uncertainty about the level of care needed or available services can be overwhelming for even the best intentioned, most loving family member. Differing levels of support services are available for the elderly and the non-elderly disabled; these relationships with the service providers are not always smooth, services are inconsistent, and in some areas access is further constrained by a lack of transportation. The absence of a centralized service system can discourage those in need of services and their advocates from pursuing support; determinations are made on the basis of whether the energy spent trying to access services is worth the effort. Housing authorities feel that they must contend not only with being the “housing of last resort,” often an unfair rap, but having to act as de facto families, nursing homes, and halfway houses. It could get worse. As a result of more recent legislation, Title VI, housing authorities may possibly be forced to assume another new identity: mini-institution.

One cannot overlook the role of the community in trying to make sense of this issue. Community includes politicians, policymakers, and the public at large, all of whom play an important role in the shaping of policies and the administration of programs. According to Lipsky, “The extent to which communities are indifferent to the nature of bureaucratic policy or fail to express their view in politically salient ways, street-level bureaucrats will perform with internally generated objectives. The stronger the community sentiment the more street-level bureaucrats will respond to community orientation; the more divergent are community opinions the more conflict for the street-level bureaucrats.”<sup>37</sup> If, as some housing managers believe, the FHAA was crafted in response to the housing crisis accelerated by policies of deinstitutionalization and diversion, or if it simply has been interpreted by disability advocates as such, then its vague intent has done considerable harm.

It is unlikely that there will ever be an effective way to restrict local discretion exercised by managers. Restricting discretion at the local level may not always be desirable; some local discretion probably serves tenants and applicants well. The issue is more of ensuring consistency and equity in how decisions are made and how they are implemented. If there is no way around discretion, there should at least be an emphasis on enhancing the professionalism and the professional capacity within the ranks of those who occupy street-level bureaucrat positions. Strategies here might include establishing a minimum set of qualifications for managers, reviewing the salary and benefits structure to attract and retain managers who meet and exceed these standards, expanding and diversifying professional development opportunities, and identifying meaningful systems to evaluate performance, including mechanisms for rewards and sanctions, to name a few.

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## **Recommendations**

### ***Revisit Enabling Legislation***

- The enabling legislation for public housing authorities was drafted more than sixty years ago. It is time to take a second look. Modifications to

local housing authority (LHA) organizational and governance structures are long overdue. As it stands, local housing authorities (LHAs) are units of government; they might be more effective and accountable to their communities if they functioned like community-based, nonprofit organizations (CBOs). Such a structure would allow for movement away from a board of commissioners, which is either appointed by the chief elected official or elected to office and toward a structure that might be more representative of the community and its concerns. Diversity within the board structure could help broaden the managers' traditional peer reference group.

- Changes to the board design must be accompanied by board training and orientation. The effective board must understand its roles and responsibilities. A knowledgeable board can provide a healthy balance to management discretion. The board would be charged with working closely with the executive director and manager to establish goals and performance measures against which the manager will be evaluated. Depending on the size of the organization and his role, the executive director would then conduct a similar process for LHA management staff. This process should build in measurable goals or steps taken to work successfully with the changing needs of the tenant population, training to be pursued, and so on. In all cases goals should be linked to rewards and corrective action plans as necessary.
- A new organizational structure would allow qualified managers to be more flexible and responsive in helping to address a community's affordable housing needs. In the absence of such a restructuring and a revisiting of the mission and mandate, housing authorities may be destined to limp along as outmoded and ineffective in the delivery of affordable housing. The continued direction of housing cannot be about preserving the sanctity of housing authorities and managers' preferred role; it must be about meeting need.

### ***Role Clarification***

- Roles must be clarified. This is not impossible and should not extend only to clarifying the role of management from the preferred to expected; consideration must be given the role, reporting, and funding relationships between the LHA and state and federal governments. Differing legislative rules and policy guidelines conditioned by funding source create unnecessary paperwork; reporting requirements often are duplicated, contradictory, and redundant, creating opportunities for confusion and wasting time that could be spent on productive work. It is unconscionable that a housing authority could have within its portfolio both deteriorating and well-maintained buildings, their respective conditions attributable to the source of their respective public funds.

### ***Education and Training***

- Public housing managers carry the credential Certified Property Manager. The curriculum should be updated and the certification retitled Certified Housing Manager, to reflect the knowledge that is required in



today's public housing. Until this changes, managers will continue to cling to preferred roles, since that will be what they know, and have difficulty accepting or responding to the expanded duties of advocate, mediator, and service provider. To maintain certification and to continue to emphasize the need for professionalism, housing managers, like other professionals, should be required to keep their certification current by completing a number of continuing education credits annually, with a percentage devoted to services, technology enhancement, and building and maintenance.

### ***Families and Services***

- Nancy Sheehan writes, "Tenants with limited or nonexistent social networks are vulnerable when changes in health, functional ability, or other stressful events occur. Vulnerable elderly include elderly without family and tenants who rely on a single caregiver. Because families are the single most important source of assistance older persons receive, tenants without families experience significant disruptions when their health declines or other losses occur."<sup>38</sup> Housing managers and service providers alike are challenged to find new strategies for engaging families. Expectations that dysfunctional family structures can be rebuilt are naive; however, if families were aware that housing managers are interested more often in pursuing tenancies, not evictions, families may be less fearful that involvement comes with a probable consequence of welcoming a troubled relative back into the home. Likewise, if families know more about resources and services that would help their family member, they may be less intimidated and more willing to become and stay involved.
- To help with the resource challenge, service providers and LHAs should make better use of technology. An on-line community-based resource directory containing information about services, eligibility criteria, contacts, and so forth, should be made available to managers, tenants, family members, advocates, and so on. An on-line dialogue between LHAs and service providers should not be hard to achieve through the creation of a list-serve or some other common, private-sector technique used to help solve shared problems. It could also function as one more way to broaden housing managements' peer reference groups.
- To a considerable degree, the problem in the mix is one of service adequacy. With or without housing, the elderly will need support services, and younger persons with disabilities, depending on the nature and severity of the disability, may require services to maintain independence. Certainly having a roof over one's head makes provision of service more manageable. Housing authorities cannot be expected to manage such responsibilities on their own. They must engage their counterparts in human and social services on the federal and state levels to pursue a commitment of responsiveness and true partnerships. Responding on a crisis by crisis basis is poor public policy.
- While housing agencies acknowledge that the populations they accommodate may require services, it is a misbegotten use of their resources

and expertise to replicate what should now be occurring in service systems. For example, efforts by HUD to lead programs targeted at homelessness among the mentally ill may be well intended, but many people with a mental illness must also be provided with services. Statistics show that without services, people with mental illness quickly and easily become unhoused. With the aging elderly population, housing authorities alone should not be providing skilled care or even assisted living. They must partner with service providers. Without aggressive collaboration and a clear sense of mission and goals, housing managers will continue to find themselves unequipped to manage an uncomfortable situation. Managers may not be thrilled with the idea of these two populations living together, but services can make an important difference. The very notion of housing authorities developing services is contradictory to the preferred management role of landlord. Continued efforts must also be made to help managers assume new roles, but one cannot lose sight of the important duties that they perform, within resource constraints, by assuring that properties are well managed and maintained.

- Service providers themselves, often struggling with inadequate resources, could be provided with free or low-cost space within a development, enabling them to service their clients while serving eligible housing authority tenants. Larger developments certainly could benefit from either an on-site service coordinator or an assistant manager for services. Smaller developments, many with part-time directors, need a similar level of service; even a small proportion of a part-time director's time spent on services causes other tasks to be deferred.

### *Legislation and Policy*

- Developing new laws and policies that articulate a solution grounded in segregating these populations is folly. Resources ultimately may be diverted to achieve command and control versus support and independence. For example, designation of a building to segregate younger tenants with a range of disabilities could quickly get out of hand. Witness problems that have occurred in other settings where there are concentrations of younger persons with limited exposure to independent living, such as college dormitories. Now envision that environment further complicated by the difficulties and challenges that often accompany a disability. Without a dramatic change in management's role, or an overhaul of the service system, the best that management may hope for over time is to impose order by adhering to strict lease enforcement and pursuit of eviction for problem tenants. This policy may be exacerbated if combined with unchecked management discretion. Less desirable or more difficult tenants might be directed to troubled buildings. Complaints from tenants might be treated with a lesser degree of urgency. Maintenance resources may be diverted to buildings that have a "better" clientele. While I present just a few of the more negative possibilities here, the backlash from segregation could set the independent living movement back years, causing serious damage to years of efforts to

reintegrate persons with disabilities into the community.

- It is also flawed public policy to allow access to those who may not have a physical disability to units that could help maximize the independence of a younger or older tenant with physical limitations. Among this group, for example, are persons who may have a mental illness or mental retardation or even a head injury. These tenants could do well in a scattered site, voucher-supported housing where services, as needed, follow the tenant. Assistance must be provided to tenants as they navigate the confusing world of the private rental market. Both the landlord and the tenant could succeed with continued access to services.

### *Client Centered versus Organization Centered*

- Many issues between these two populations — the elderly and the younger disabled — are rooted in a clash of lifestyles. Managers should employ strategies to minimize the tensions and ensure that all tenants know their respective rights and responsibilities. For example, each new tenant should receive a detailed explanation of the lease and an orientation that will help her or him understand the many different people and lifestyles that coexist in the building. Leases can be confusing documents filled with legalese. Continued emphasis should be placed on community building — creating informal opportunities for people to mix may help neighbors get to know one another. Housing management has a significant role to play in reducing tensions caused by differences in lifestyles, including, as necessary, stricter enforcement of lease provisions that could help reduce behaviors that interfere with another's peaceful enjoyment of the premises.

### *Funding*

- A commitment must be made to fulfill the promise of the Housing Act of 1949. It is unacceptable that the wealthiest nation in the world does not view housing as a national priority, refusing to commit the resources to ensure that all in need are sheltered. Adequate resources must be allocated to (1) ensure that deteriorating physical plants are improved and maintained; (2) provide sufficient resources so that vouchers provided to non-elderly disabled persons are sufficient to meet escalating private market rents; and (3) create and support an array of affordable housing options to meet the changing needs of elders as they age in place.

These recommendations are purposely limited. The potential for future research is limited only by the limits of creativity. The following suggestions concern important work that could further help with this issue.

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### **Suggestions for Further Research**

The impact of Title VI should be studied. Careful attention must be paid to the numbers of housing authorities designating portions of their housing portfolio for the exclusive use of one population over another, with particular emphasis on emerging trends pertaining to the potential for resegregating the non-elderly disabled in mini-institutional set-



tings.

Staff structures within the LHAs could also benefit from further examination. Are current staffing configurations, including backgrounds and qualifications, sufficient to meet the changing needs of the populations living within public housing? In smaller housing authorities, for example, many part-time directors double as property managers, overseeing and directing maintenance, dealing directly with almost all tenant-related and other issues. Consideration must be given to whether these staff are being asked to do too much with inadequate resources. Continual research and evaluation is also necessary to determine the need for on-site services as part of the permanent staffing structure.

A clear profile of tenants living in elderly housing and those on the waiting list should be developed. Who are they? What kinds of issues are they confronting as they age? What kinds of family support systems exist, and do housing managers have the information and the authorization to engage family if needed? What are the ongoing service needs, levels of independence, health considerations, et cetera? This information is essential to addressing changing needs systematically.

Efforts must be made to measure the true level of administrative burden, an unfunded mandate in its own right. Much has been said about the time managers and others spend mastering legislation, rules, and other subjects, and its impact on implementation. Careful analysis of federal, state, and local regulations, with consideration to areas of overlap, redundancy, and contradictions, would be helpful.

Finally, policymakers would do well to examine models of alternative community structures to better understand how they work and whether there are lessons that can be learned and applied in the development of future affordable housing options for both the elderly and the non-elderly disabled. ❀

*This article is largely drawn from my dissertation, "Who Deserves to Be Housed: A Study of the Effect of Legislation on the Tenants and Managers of Public Housing for the Elderly."*

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# Black Women in Durham Politics, 1950–1996

## From Grassroots to Electoral Politics

Grace Walton

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*Based on the author's senior thesis in African-American history, this article about black women by a black woman was conceived to educate Americans about a different kind of history. It illustrates the silent political struggles of black women in Durham, North Carolina, and their gradual acceptance into American politics from 1950 to 1996. The oral history design demonstrates that black women's political activity underwent a transformation from grassroots politics to full electoral participation, which brought them to the forefront of Durham politics. Through both types of political activity, the unique political consciousness of black women continues to have a great impact on the community's political institutions.*

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I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But, through the process of amendment, interpretation, and Court decision, I have finally been included in "We the People." — Barbara Jordan

— Janet Cheatham Bell  
*Famous Black Quotations*

**T**his article about black women by a black woman was conceived to educate Americans about a different kind of history. Readers will not learn about George Washington or Alexander Hamilton. Although it does not mention war, it is very much about struggle — the silent political battles of black women in Durham, North Carolina, and their gradual acceptance into American politics. Readers will hear the voices of the women and learn about their cultural experiences as blacks and women. Gender, combined with ethnic experiences, produced a unique political identity for black women. I demonstrate that their political activity underwent a transformation from grassroots politics to full electoral participation, which brought them to the forefront of Durham politics. I also show that through both types of political activity, the unique political consciousness of black women continues to have a great impact on the political institutions in the community.<sup>1</sup>

I write about the political involvement of these black women to show historians and Americans who are ignorant of their political activities that they have been a vital motivating force in the black community. They have always been politically active, and their political role in Durham gets larger and more powerful every day. With such a dynamic political force rising in America, it is time to write "her" story into "his"tory.

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Americans have to open their eyes and change their definitions of history and politics. Studies have often failed to recognize such societal factors as gender and race, which make up political identities and individual agendas. One must understand that politics is more than voting and serving in the House of Representatives. For centuries politics commended and applauded the accomplishments of males, primarily white males. It conveniently omitted the contributions of many other groups of people, neglecting to view them as part of history. Black women, specifically, have been overlooked as contributors to history simply because their political participation did not fit the mode of the white American version of historical participation.

The "position of any group in America is indicated by [its] relative influence in the societal decision-making process."<sup>2</sup> Black women, because of their race and gender, have never had an influence in the American political structure. Their political behavior was formed by their culture and gender. Their politics reaches into every area of life outside the legislature. Many black women are not concerned with building space centers or nuclear weapons because their issues revolve around bringing themselves and their children out of poverty. They are concerned with equal employment and fair wages.

Their unique status as fourth-class citizens resulted in their political behavior deviating from the standard concept of political activity, particularly voting and campaigning.<sup>3</sup> The politics of Durham's black women focused on working, through their community, to change living conditions for everyone, black and white. Their political behavior centered on revering their heritage while working to improve their condition. In the past, their politics also translated into sacrificing their personal agendas for the good of their race. Since the civil rights movement, black women have not limited themselves to community involvement. In recent years they have moved into electoral politics, bringing to it their culture and gender; this complex identity brought a different point of view to Durham's political institutions.

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## **Methodology**

I surveyed the political involvement of black women in Durham from the mid-1950s to 1996 to show their evolution from grassroots to electoral political activity. My multifaceted research methods were necessary because documentation on the lives and politics of these women was limited. I therefore interviewed seventeen black women in the community, to determine their political activities during and since the civil rights era. Their names appear in Appendix A.

I asked each one twenty questions, varying or eliminating some of them because several women were not native to Durham or I needed a clearer response regarding their personal experiences. See Appendix B for the questions.

Owing to unavailability, scheduling conflicts, and a few rejections, my list became much more diverse than it had been originally. I attempted to interview women who were first in every area of the city's politics.<sup>4</sup> Since many were public officials, it was difficult, if not impossible, to reach them. Therefore, my list of interviewees was far from exhaustive, and many more stories remain to be told. Yet I feel that the women I interviewed symbolized the overall black female population because they included representatives from every socioeconomic background. Their diversity reflected their varying points of views on all issues, from education to the civil rights movement to the need to eliminate racism. In addition, talking to them helped me understand the areas where black women

have thrived and what issues have been important to them and to learn their overall perspective regarding their low political status in Durham.

While these interviews comprised the majority of my research, I consulted books that covered the general history of the activities of Durham's black community during the civil rights struggle. Elaine Burgess's *Negro Leadership in a Southern City* and William Keech's *The Impact of Black Voting* conveyed the temporal racial climate and the progressive nature of the city.<sup>5</sup> I searched through forty years' worth of the *Durham Herald Sun* and *Carolina Times* to attempt to reconstruct the racial climate and general atmosphere in the fifties and sixties. According to the newspapers of the civil rights period, men such as Howard Fuller, Floyd McKissick, and Howard Clement were leaders in the accomplishments of black people. Yet I found no mention of the political involvement of the black women of the time. In more recent years, the newspapers covered the election of black females to the school board and various other positions briefly. Still, I garnered few specific details about their grassroots political behavior, the organizations with which they were affiliated, and the roles they played in the civil rights struggle.

Lacking this material, I researched the area of black feminist psychology to obtain information concerning the factors that contribute to the political identity of black women. I browsed through books covering their general political behavior and books on feminist theory by Bell Hooks, Paula Giddings, and other black theorists to better understand how black women nationwide form their political identities and agendas. What I found was consistent with much of what I discovered about Durham's black women. Those I interviewed gave me a strong sense of the aesthetic nature of their political consciousness, detailing how their social experiences made them more aware of certain issues.

I approached this project as an oral history because I felt that only these women could tell the female story. The results are in two parts, the first covering the political activities of black women during the civil rights period, the second demonstrating the evolution of black women's political activity since the civil rights period. I identify each interviewee to make clear whose opinions are being presented. All quotes from secondary sources are cited.

I hope that through the words, actions, and experiences of the women, readers will understand that it is impossible for a black woman to be simply black or simply a woman. Her experiences have been affected by her status as a woman and as a black, two identities that cannot be separated. The mind-set of black women and their multilayered characters are what made their politics so distinct. I hope that by my documentation, American scholars who are ignorant of the facts will pay attention to black women and give them the credit they deserve.

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### **The Civil Rights Struggle: Grassroots Politics**

In 1957, Durham, North Carolina, was not much different from the rest of the South. Jim Crow was strongly established throughout the city.<sup>6</sup> Blacks and whites were not allowed to eat together, drink from the same water fountain, or live in the same areas. The railroad tracks separated the races — on one side, beautiful houses of the white people, the other lined with a string of boarded-up houses, garbage thrown all around, and half-naked, barefoot black children played in the street.<sup>7</sup> Blacks' living spaces were restricted to areas that were considered less than desirable by the white community, and job options were strictly limited because no one wanted to hire a black.<sup>8</sup>



The blacks, who for the most part inhabited the East End and the Hayti area, worked primarily in the tobacco plant. Although it was grueling labor, they had few options. Since many white businesses owners would not hire them, the blacks either worked in the tobacco company or became domestic servants. Some were employed at the Merchants and Farmers Bank. The few educated among them secured jobs in the black-owned North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company.<sup>9</sup>

In general, all facilities and opportunities for blacks were inferior to those for whites. The school systems — one for blacks and one for whites — probably suffered the worst inequities.<sup>10</sup> The black system was decidedly inferior — the graduates of a black high school in Durham did not receive the equal of even an eleventh-grade education at any Northern school.<sup>11</sup> The teachers were required to teach all subjects rather than those in their special fields, and the books were not only outdated but inappropriate for the grade levels in which they were used. There was little opportunity of employment for blacks without a higher education.

Yet for all its problems, Durham's reputation throughout the South was that of a "unique town . . . that is more liberal than what you would expect in a Southern state."<sup>12</sup> Throughout the Jim Crow South, Durham's name preceded itself. After all, blacks had built the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, the largest and most successful black insurance company in the world.<sup>13</sup> Durham's black population, while considerably poorer than its white counterparts, had been relatively successful and financially mobile. Because of the blacks' accomplishments, Durham was called everything from the capital of the black middle class to the black Wall Street of America.<sup>14</sup>

Durham, with its white and black population, has always been considered "progressive"<sup>15</sup> because outsiders perceived it as having "more racial harmony between the races than in any other city in America."<sup>16</sup> This is not to say that it was free of Ku Klux Klan harassment because, as everyone knows, the Klan was as active here as anywhere else.<sup>17</sup> In spite of Klan abuse, staunch segregation, and separate and unequal facilities, blacks were allowed to establish their own businesses, buy their own houses, and in some cases, live peacefully.

In June 1957, notwithstanding the prominent middle class, many black communities were still poverty-stricken, and the Jim Crow laws placed numerous restrictions on blacks. Ironically, Durham was ringed by academic institutions — Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the North Carolina Negro College — that attracted students from all over the country. These scholars often brought their progressive ideas from the North, which conflicted with North Carolina's social traditions.

As more and more blacks became more educated, and with the influx of outsiders, blacks tolerated the Jim Crow sanctions less and less. Political meetings, in such local churches as Saint Joseph's A.M.E. and White Rock Baptist Church in the Hayti area, were held more frequently, the issues ranging from equal education to better housing.<sup>18</sup> Howard Clement, Howard Fuller, Floyd McKissick, Douglas Moore, and other local leaders had begun meeting with the mayor about naming blacks to the Board of Education, the Human Relations Committee, the County Commissioners Board, and various other political posts. At the same time, the students of Hillside High School and the North Carolina Negro College became politically active, attending meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Negroes, and local churches.<sup>19</sup>

On a Sunday morning in 1957, Douglas Moore, a young black minister, and six protesters gathered to stage a sit-in at the Royal ice cream parlor near Roxboro and Dowd

streets.<sup>20</sup> Virginia Williams, one of the demonstrators, described it, saying, “[We] decided that we needed to actually stop just sitting around and actually do a sit-in.” At the time, whites could sit and order, but blacks had to go to the back parking lot and order through a window. Williams said, “Knowing we weren’t gonna get through the front door, [we] went to the back just like we were supposed to, but once we got there we just went right through the swinging door. We just headed for [a] booth and sat down. Of course they called the police and we were arrested and somebody came down and paid our bond.”

Historians usually credit Greensboro as the birthplace of the sit-ins, but these events started three years earlier in Durham. Williams says that “it got a little excitement but then it died down,” but she describes the civil rights period as “very upbeat. It was just exciting.”<sup>21</sup> As the movement gained more momentum in the sixties, the boycotting and sit-ins increased considerably, and the Royal ice cream parlor was one of the first stores to be closed. Throughout the civil rights era, women like Virginia Williams helped sustain the movement by protesting and working behind the scenes to effect change in Durham.

In 1960, Faye Mayo, an elementary school guidance counselor, was a student at North Carolina Negro College. A faithful protester throughout the sixties, she, like Williams, attended every march in Durham and said that “the women were really the ones out there. It was the college students, who were [mostly] black women.” Mayo attended Saint Joseph’s A.M.E., the local church, and participated in many of the mass meetings. Active in the NAACP, she was named Miss NAACP when she was a college student. In 1963, Mayo was also arrested at the Howard Johnson sit-in on highway 15-501. She is pictured protesting in a local newspapers and in *North Carolina and the Negro*. Many factors motivated Mayo to participate.

I had had no problems with segregated schools because I didn’t know any different. [But] there were lots of things that just weren’t right, especially when it came to employment. Even myself, I had to go Philadelphia to business school when I graduated. There were no jobs in North Carolina unless you had a college education and could teach. I knew that this wasn’t right because I knew a lot of [black] students couldn’t go to college; they needed decent jobs. Here in Durham it was mostly to the tobacco companies and warehouses and the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, but they couldn’t hire everyone. We knew there was no future as far as jobs. In education we had used textbooks. It was not fair that we were denied the better educational facilities in Durham than the Caucasian people were offered in their high schools.<sup>22</sup>

The black women of Durham were quite aware of the racial discrimination because they were most often its victims. For this reason, the young and the old protested, marched, and provided technical support to the organizations and the protesters. They knew that their chances for success were very slim, not only for them but for the rest of the black community, but their “value system to move a community forward is a concept of community unity.”<sup>23</sup> Their desire to create more opportunities for themselves and others spurred them on and made them a vital source of support for the movement.

According to Beverly Washington Jones, a professor at North Carolina Central University (NCCU), formerly North Carolina Negro College, the movement “was . . . generated by young people.” The young women in middle school, high school, and college made up a good number of the protesters and, as Washington said, the young students were “engaging the older established leadership to become sensitive to the issues that were confronting the community.”<sup>24</sup>

Debra Giles, a former county commissioner for Durham, was a sophomore at Hillside

High School when she became active in the civil rights movement. She said,

My sisters and I all participated in the marches and the boycotts, all to improve the African-American access to facilities and jobs and all those things. We got arrested several times. The infamous Howard Johnson used to own a hotel/motel, but it was one of the places that was being picketed and we were drug off site from there. Curiously enough, it was exciting to us because we basically were reared in a typical middle-class environment but felt a sense of responsibility for getting involved in it.<sup>25</sup>

Young black women like Giles and Jones provided the spark for the leadership to move forward through their desire and enthusiasm for change. Their courage and strength forced the older generation out of its silent revolt and elicited the attention of the white community, but they were not limited to confrontational activities.<sup>26</sup>

Many Durham black women also tried to engage the greater community in working together through grassroots endeavors. Betty Copeland, a clinical psychologist at the Durham Department of Mental Health and former school board member, recalled her efforts as a college student in the 1960s.

[In 1967] I created, along with one of my buddies on campus, an organization called GAS, Grassroots Association for Students. What we did was connected with a number of the organizations out in the community. We became members of the student government, traveled the state getting other students involved. We focused on needs in the community, like better sewage, better housing, better education.<sup>27</sup>

Like other women, Copeland was a member of the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Negroes, which was, and is still, among the most prominent black political organizations in the city. Started in 1935, it asserted that it planned to place political power in the hands of blacks. The committee served as a vital force for political motivation and mobilization. At the time, black men were the presidents and spokesmen for this organization and the NAACP. Giles believed that although women were active members, it took a long time before they were permitted to assume leadership positions. Despite the social definitions of gender roles, black women were always present at the meetings and participated in the committees.

The women were allowed "to participate but not hold positions of [power]" in these organizations because of the societal perception that women should tend to the family and be seen but not heard.<sup>28</sup> Despite this restriction, Josephine Clement, while not politically active at the time, owing to her maternal responsibilities, said that black women in black institutions were always "the foundation of such organizations. Just like the church, schools, and businesses, women have gone in and run these organizations and held them together. The men took the offices on top."<sup>29</sup>

It was assumed that the women played traditional "supportive" roles as opposed to the visible males' leadership posts.<sup>30</sup> Virginia Williams said of the work of black women in the NAACP, "Basically, we were out picketing. I think some women always made sandwiches or drinks or something. They made sure that you had something to take with you. We'd call and say 'I'm ready to be picked up' and they would come and pick [us] up and take [us] where [we] needed to go. Women mainly headed the office."

While "it has been the custom to devalue these functions simply because they are female tasks" does not mean that these roles were insignificant.<sup>31</sup> The women became secretaries and office staff who organized the pickup routes for the picketers and communicated with the various Durham leaders, organizing march locations and mass meetings. Many women gained useful managerial skills as they performed these tasks. They learned



how to run meetings and organizations and developed networking skills and financing techniques, all of which prepared them to become effective leaders.

Black women were in the forefront of decreasing racial strife and violence in the communities. Elna Spaulding, the first black woman member of the Board of County Commissioners, recalled that "Durham was really in a crisis situation. Racial lines were tightly drawn and as for communication, racial relations were the lowest they had ever been, and they were never very good." She and other women, white and black, recognized the potential for violence of the same level as that of Birmingham and Montgomery. Therefore, they worked together diligently to prevent outbreaks of violence.

After attending a 1968 women's conference in New York on methods for preventing violence in communities rife with racial tension, Spaulding called a meeting of the women of Durham. More than 125 women showed up. This was a landmark event because, as Spaulding maintained, it "was the first time that [a] grassroots level of women, biracial, had ever come together to work specifically on community problems."<sup>32</sup> As a result of this meeting, Spaulding formed Women in Action for the Prevention of Violence. The group, which met every two weeks, held panel discussions and addressed various ways in which women in the community could combat Durham's problems. A number of community members referred to Spaulding as one of the most prominent black female leaders of the time. Her actions and involvement have served as a great inspiration to many of the women who have followed in her footsteps.

While Spaulding worked to increase interracial communication, Ann Atwater began to fight for issues concerning housing for the low-income black population. As an occupant of such housing who was behind on her rent, Atwater decided to take control of her life. She met Howard Fuller, of whom she said, "At the time, he decided that he would train several people. He then put me through . . . community action technician training. After that, we got started on how to deal with housing, employment, and welfare. You name it, we were there."

Following the training program, Atwater, Fuller, and several other leaders formed the United Organization for Community Improvement (UOCI). Atwater worked on housing very closely with this group because she knew the trials that beset low-income occupants. She commented, "When people would go up to rent a house, the tenant selector would feel the black women to see if they were pregnant. They wouldn't fix the houses up and treated people like dogs in public housing."

Private housing landlords were no better, frequently neglecting to make repairs. When they took care of them, they raised rents significantly, a factor that exacerbated the housing situation for blacks. Many of them could not afford to buy a house and when forced to leave, they had no place to go.

Atwater worked closely with the UOCI to educate blacks about their rights. In addition, she was assigned to investigate the welfare system and inform all citizens about the services available. She worked to disseminate this information throughout the community to further empower lower-income blacks and extended her struggle to include establishing equal educational facilities for black children. Her adamant stand for education stemmed from the difficulty her children had encountered in school. She and a number of other black women protested faithfully in front of City Hall and the school board committee to obtain better facilities for their children. When she looked back, she remembered that "when we started in the schools we found out that Hillside children who were in the twelfth grade were using eleventh-grade books. We fought to get the right books in there. We found out that we had teachers in there, teaching, say, math and they were

English teachers.”<sup>33</sup> Atwater fought tirelessly for improvements in the school systems; when the quality of facilities was increased, her daughter went from failing her classes to becoming an honor roll student.

Atwater’s community involvement represented a great service to the progress and education of all people. Through her various accomplishments, she became an outstanding leader within the community. Having fought for civil rights all her life, she believed, with other Durham women, that the “struggle is ongoing.”<sup>34</sup>

Margaret Turner, who shared Atwater’s belief, was a staunch fighter for the civil rights cause. As an American Tobacco Company worker for more than thirty years, she said that she was not just another black tobacco worker because she was respected by everyone with whom she worked. She recounted her experience at the factory, saying, “I worked in the cigarette department where it was clean. But the black women, they worked in the dirty part of it, doing the processing of the tobacco. But you see I was too much of a clean person to do that. When I went to get a job I didn’t go where the black women went because it was too dirty. I was just the type of person that wanted the best for myself.”<sup>35</sup>

The pride, dignity, and strength that Turner exhibited throughout her life earned respect from many people, black and white. Although she was merely a tobacco worker, the supervisors consulted her for advice about the black workers. She seemed to be a natural leader and worked actively to integrate the factory’s facilities, starting with the bathrooms. The workers went to every floor and posted signs in all the whites’ bathrooms, which said that a black person had used them. The confusion that ensued led to the eventual integration of all the company’s facilities. Turner’s actions were a prime example of the ways in which black women subtly changed conditions in Durham. While they had no control over the laws and no voice to be heard, they helped effect change through their subtle tactics and informal gatherings.

In the early 1950s and 1960s, Margaret Turner “jumped feet-first into the civil rights movement. Every day, when her daughters got out of school, she accompanied them on the picket line,” trying to bring people together by making whites understand that blacks needed and wanted the same possessions that whites enjoyed. A lifetime member of the NAACP, she succeeded Floyd McKissick as the “state NAACP youth adviser.”<sup>36</sup>

Throughout her life, Turner was a renowned leader for civil rights who transmitted her undying spirit to fight for truth and justice to the student picketers. As a leader on the picket line, she said, “I was good for not negotiating ‘cause some of the issues and things that [one of the male leaders at the time] brought back to us, I just wouldn’t accept. They had to come by me, because I was the one out there with those kids. Those kids respected me and also respect me today.” A number of prominent black women leaders, including Vivian McCoy, Beverly Washington Jones, and Viola Williams, came under her guidance during the civil rights movement.

Even at seventy-six, Turner did not feel that she had completed her work. She wanted to do better, to do more. As part of her four years’ continual involvement, she served on the Durham Human Relations Committee, helping to foster better race relations and eliminate discrimination. From working the polls for fifty years, she remembered that during the civil rights period “you saw [women] at the polls more than . . . men. Women played the biggest role in the voter registration.” Despite all that Turner witnessed in Durham throughout her lifetime, she had no hatred toward anyone. She worked in the struggle for freedom because, she said, “It was given to [me] that that was what I was supposed to do in life.”<sup>37</sup> Black women throughout Durham felt an obligation to strive for social improvements for blacks and participated in many ways.

The variety of political activity in which the black women of the time engaged may appear to have represented an insignificant contribution, but one must remember the thirty-to-forty-year differences between then and now. The standards of feminism and political importance have changed dramatically. Virginia Williams felt that “considering you are talking forty years ago, [the impact of black women’s activities] was very strong. Because even if they were not heads of something, women were always there to make sure things went along fine.”<sup>38</sup>

Those black women were locked into a gender role prescribed by American society. They were expected to be workers, mothers, and wives, not to aspire to positions of power. This factor was compounded by the strong sense of family responsibility characteristic of black women throughout history. The traditional role of mother and wife took priority in many women’s lives because the “concept of motherhood is of central importance in the philosophy of the African-American population.”<sup>39</sup> This is the reason that Elna Spaulding, Josephine Clement, and a score of others were not visible as leaders. At the same time, their maternal identity served as an impetus for much of their political involvement. The desire to protect their children from threats of violence and hopes of improving the quality of life for their families motivated them to picket, boycott, appear in front of the school board, and confront an angry mob of Klan members in order to effect change in Durham.

Black women considered it “their duty and responsibility to participate in such events.” They were compelled to act because they “had to fight harder because [they] have been at the bottom. Even at the point where [they] have had to sublimate [themselves] to help the men.” Durham’s black women assumed supporting roles in accordance with their traditions and society’s definition of their status. Any attempt at leadership within the black community would have been regarded as an attempt to undermine the overall black fight for equality. Therefore, the women politicked at a strictly grassroots level — as secretaries, cooks, and marchers; by offering subtle suggestions to their husbands, they could influence the men’s political conduct and indirectly affect the outcomes of political events.

Although black women played subtle roles during the civil rights period, they did the groundwork and laid the foundation for the battle in Durham. Without their money raising for various organizations, there would have been no funding. Without their making the phone calls, setting up meetings, picking up marchers, protesting, and doing the “day-to-day work to keep these organizations running,” there would have been no movement. Although the women were not “in positions of power in the larger community, they nevertheless [had] access to this larger power through their power in the black community.”

Numerous Durham citizens believe that black women run many of the organizations, regardless of their title or position. For this reason, they are important in the black community. Elna Spaulding, Ann Atwater, and Margaret Turner’s groundbreaking work in bettering race relations was most important to the advancement of policies like integration and school merging. Black women undoubtedly were an invaluable battalion in the struggle for equality, which “helped bring women to the forefront” in the years following.<sup>40</sup>

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### **After the Struggle: Electoral Politics**

As the civil rights movement reached its peak, black people gained full citizenship privileges. After passage of the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, the politics of blacks changed



dramatically. Before the movement, many barriers kept them from voting and holding any political office, so blacks were forced to engage in protest politics. As the doors of opportunity opened for them, black men and women countrywide gradually abandoned protest politics. When they began to seek electoral office, the percentage of black legislators increased dramatically.

In the late sixties, Durham saw the selection of the first black man and black woman to sit on the Board of County Commissioners — members of this board and the school board were still appointed. As soon as the spheres of political activity broadened, black women were immediately active in the structure. Those in Durham had acquired all the managerial and political skills necessary to run organizations through their community involvement. Black women had decades of experience as active church members, sorors, mothers, wives, and secretaries. In addition, as wives of the presidents of the North Carolina Mutual and the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Blacks — its present title — they were highly exposed practitioners of politics. As mothers, they were active in community organizations — local churches, wives clubs, sororities, and PTA boards. Many were highly educated and had acquired remarkable managerial skills at college.

It seemed that the only reason black women were not part of the political system in Durham was attributable to racism and sexism. Since the sixties, black women have been elected or appointed to almost every political board in the city and county and have become prominent executives of community organizations and businesses. Today's black women are probably the most dominant and outspoken people in politics, from the Board of Education to the chambers of the state Senate.

From their limited political opportunities and years of discrimination, the women became attuned to the needs of the Durham community. In the sixties, they understood the need to foster healthy relationships between the races. As blacks, the women understood the necessity for a better educational system, because their community's schools had for so long been inferior. As women and mothers they understood the need for decent, affordable housing, a more efficient welfare system, and better jobs that do not continually force people into poverty. Their experiences as a group at the bottom of the political scale molded their political behavior and ideas.

### ***Moving into Electoral Politics: Changing the School System***

Prior to 1968, Elna Spaulding focused on raising her family. She kept abreast of the political situation in Durham through her husband, Asa Spaulding, who was an important political figure in the city. She was inspired by her attendance at the 1968 New York City conference on preventing violence in the community at which the women were asked to form special groups to subdue the violence.

The conference marked her entrance to the world of politics. It inspired Spaulding to organize Women in Action for the Prevention of Violence. She called meetings and led the group, which provided the impetus for biracial community interaction in Durham. This experience enhanced her management abilities, leading to her appointment as the first black woman to sit on the Board of County Commissioners, which later became an elective position. Spaulding was then elected and served five consecutive two-year terms. Her presence on this political board, she believed, had given all black women opportunities. In fact, many women in political offices called Elna Spaulding their inspiration and mentor.

Although she sat on the county commissioners board for many years, Spaulding's primary focus was — and is — on community work. She considered Women in Action

her most important mission. The organization, serving the entire Durham community, accomplished a great deal in terms of increasing interracial interaction and improving race relationships. In 1970, the members established a referral and information crisis line for victims of violence that was instrumental in aiding the peaceful integration of Durham schools. The organization also sponsors the Elna Spaulding Founder's Award, which recognizes community members who have dedicated themselves to serving the city. Spaulding's political involvement, both at the grassroots and at the electoral level, had a great impact on the future political endeavors of Durham's black women. As the first black woman to hold a political position, she opened the doors to politics for other black women.

Before long, Spaulding was joined on the Board of County Commissioners by Josephine Clement, whose groundbreaking work established her as another mentor and inspirator of black women. During the early sixties, she was absorbed with raising her family, manifesting her concern for her children by participating in a number of PTA boards while all six of her offspring were in school and becoming PTA president. Her maternal instinct led to her interest in the quality of Durham education, so Clement served in many positions that affected the school system.

In 1971, she was a member of a joint county commissioners board to plan the "consolidation of the city and county [systems]." Of this early political experience, she said, "I was the only black woman. I was very much aware that I was the only black woman. We wrote a new charter, and in there the rights of blacks and the rights of females were addressed. We failed to pass it but it was a model for what we might have in the future."

Clement was the first black or woman in many positions. She believed it was important to have people sympathetic to minority needs on these boards. After serving on the joint county commissioners board, she was asked to turn her attention to the needs of blacks and women on the Durham Board of Education. Members of the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People and of the League of Women Voters encouraged her to run because she was knowledgeable about the school system. She became the first black woman to sit on the Board of Education and the first woman, black or white, to chair it.

During her ten years as a school board member, Clement visited schools to observe the quality of the facilities, the educational standards, and the teachers, establishing a pattern that the Board of Education has since followed. After heading the board for five years, she ran for the Board of County Commissioners and continued to work toward improving the school system. As county commissioners, "we worked on the schools. I was a liaison for the schools. I had an opportunity to work more closely with the budgets, what the schools were asking for, and what the county was able to pay for."<sup>41</sup>

Clement believed that her greatest contribution was as chair of the Board of Education. She surely had a great impact on the political system of Durham and more specifically the Board of Education. As the sole black person and woman sitting on these boards, she felt there was a definite lack of people who were genuinely interested in the schools and the children. She thought that she and people like her bring a more humanistic perspective to their work. Her being "black and female" introduced a "different point of view to the boards."<sup>42</sup> Her presence not only empowered other black women to run for office but helped to make the rest of Durham more receptive to black women in positions of power.

Although she no longer holds elective office, Clement continues to act in the community. She worked on Jim Hunt's gubernatorial campaign, the Board of Trustees of Shaw

University, the visitor's board at Wake Forest University, the Duke University Advisory Board, and the Board of Social Services. The purpose of her involvement is to "improve the status of humankind."<sup>43</sup> She set an example that many black women have since admired and emulated.

Debra Giles was among the women who followed in Spaulding and Clement's footsteps. Giles said, "For me personally, having role models like Josephine Clement and Elna Spaulding [and] just seeing how they conducted themselves was a motivator." As a product of the civil rights movement, Giles was always politically oriented, and in the early nineties she extended her grassroots political skills to electoral politics. She described her start in formal politics.

I was on the Board of County Commissioners from 1990 to 1994, and that was my first attempt at elective office. I was involved in church activities and a member of my nursing sorority. Saying that I was a product of the civil rights movement simply draws me to social organizations. My interest in the political process sort of evolved out of my involvement in traditional social involvement. I am a nurse by professional training, so because county government is largely a human service government, it always has piqued my interest.

As a county commissioner, she worked on the school merger, one of the most controversial projects in Durham. There had always been two government systems, the county system and the city system. The school systems were organized the same way, but, as a result of white flight, they were racially divided. The whites who lived in the city moved to the county after the city was desegregated, and the blacks remained in the city. The distribution of funds was also unbalanced. Although both systems received the same amount, the white communities had more money to invest in the schools, so the country system was far superior to the one in the city. Since the black community had no extra money for enriching their schools, the textbooks of the predominantly black schools were outdated and their teachers were ill prepared.

In 1991, the Board of County Commissioners suggested that the school board consider merging the school systems. Since neither faction could reach a definite decision, the commissioners undertook the project. Giles described the problem.

The funding formulas for the schools really created a problem in terms of allocating resources to the greatest need, because you have to do per capita funding. [This] meant that anytime that you gave a dollar to the city schools, the county schools had to get the same dollar even though they didn't need it. If we didn't get greater resources back to the inner city school system there would never be an improvement in the quality of education. So in order to give the local people an opportunity to decide its own fate, the Board of County Commissioners merged the schools. It was done through some special legislation [passed by] the General Assembly.

There had been heated debate over this subject, and because of her advocacy of the merger, Giles was almost defeated in 1992. After her reelection, she worked on increasing government contracts in minority neighborhoods and fighting for better allocation of resources for those who have no voice in Durham politics. She said, "Where you have balance of resource allocation, you are going to have improvement in quality of life for citizens. So I definitely think that [the commissioner board] played a major role in bringing that about."<sup>44</sup> Giles's achievements certainly contributed to a more efficient distribution of the resources. Her presence as a black woman undoubtedly helped to put these types of projects into action. Debra Giles was one of the most outspoken members of the



board in favor of the school merger, which eventually worked against her. She was defeated in the 1994 Republican sweep.

Improving educational facilities for all Durham children has been a primary concern for many black women who have served in political posts. While a number of them worked on the merger issues, others chose different ways to affect the school system. Willa Bryant sat on the school board from 1983 until 1991, preceding the merger. As a member, she was instrumental in the reallocation of resources in the school system. "Our focus then was to help the kids adjust to an integrated system, with hopes that the possibilities would be better." She felt that many of the women, herself included, have focused on education to make the future better for children all over Durham. Never having considered herself politically oriented, she tried to stay out of politics because she did not think it had anything to do with what she tried to accomplish. Yet, as she reflected on her reasons for joining the board, she said, "I thought I needed to work on the school board because I figured I would have something to offer. I figured that I could make a contribution." She realized, after her eight-year term, that achieving any type of progress would be difficult in the face of other board members' personal agendas, but as she looked back, she felt that she did accomplish something.

During her term on the school board, Bryant recognized the need for new schools in two of Durham's poverty neighborhoods. The board faced a number of conflicts because some members did not want to spend money on new schools for these predominantly black areas. But Bryant also had a personal agenda.

I went on [the school board] with the determination that [Hillside] should get a high school that was a high school, not a dungeon. East End school was like a dungeon. There was no point in repairing. When I was [with] the school board one time it was pure raining in the library, and the teachers were running around trying to cover up the books. They had come up with plans to renovate and I said, "You don't need to renovate East End; you don't need to renovate Hillside. They just need some schools."

While the Board of County Commissioners was passing the merger, Bryant helped to get two new schools built in Durham. Before she rotated off the board, she, along with the other board members, bought the land for the schools and hired the architects. Although she shunned the political process, she has a sense of achievement when she drives by the new Hillside High School on Fayetteville Street.

Aside from her school board successes, Willa Bryant was active in helping children, functioning through Alpha Kappa Alpha and organizations like Women in Action. She worked primarily through the Edgemont Community Board to see that there were programs for children. "I knew [Edgemont] was an area where somebody needed to work with those children over there so they would be better fitted to go to school. We finally got us a day care over there. We chased money until we were sick."

Although the work is nonstop and sometimes seemingly useless, Bryant continued to help provide scholarships and other programs "to try to provide an environment for kids to grow up, not only in our community, but throughout the city."<sup>45</sup> Her work in both the public and the private spheres was felt all over Durham, and she served as a mentor to other women throughout the community.

Betty Copeland, a psychologist who considered Willa Bryant a mentor and friend and served with her on the school board, was involved in several counseling programs. She also started a coalition for the prevention of adolescent pregnancy. Regarding her tenure on the school board, she explained, "I wanted to assist the kids. That was my main focus,

not knowing the cutthroat political junk that goes on. I just was not aware. It was that I wanted to help kids [and] be a change agent for those things I thought needed change. That's not necessarily the way it worked."

Copeland focused on a variety of board issues, including fairer testing in the schools, counseling, and parent involvement. Her endeavors included public speaking, networking, and lobbying the legislature, yet she believes that her most significant contribution was related to her becoming, from 1968 to 1972, chair of the Association of Black Psychologists. In that position she worked to dispel white Americans' opinions about blacks and to improve family relationships. "My activities were geared toward having a wholesome environment in the home. Having a real love for children, hoping they grow up, come back, and improve the world."<sup>46</sup> Copeland and many other women have brought their love for children to these boards, fighting vehemently to improve organizations and institutions to benefit the youngsters in the community.

Mary Ann Black has the same love for family and children. As a clinical social worker and county commissioner, she not only shares a bond with Betty Copeland but has worked closely with Debra Giles and dealt with educational issues similar to those tackled by Willa Bryant. Black, a graduate student from South Carolina during the Durham civil rights battle, was relatively inactive at the time. But as she became absorbed with Alpha Kappa Alpha, she met and was greatly inspired by Elna Spaulding. Indeed, she admired a number of Durham's black women for their work because, she said, they are "very active hard workers and when I think of many of the activities that occur in Durham County, for example, the Martin Luther King celebration, the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black's Banquet, the men are out front in terms of getting some of the glory, but it is the women who tend to put it together. I've been impressed by that."

Black has several notable accomplishments to her name. A member of the Board of County Commissioners from 1990 to 1996, she believed her background as a social worker made her sensitive to issues concerning families, women, and the working poor. She tended to aid all people because she saw herself as an elected official representing the total community, not as the "African-American who is there only to represent African-Americans." As a commissioner she gained the respect of the entire community for her confident stand on trying to heal its racial strife.

During the debate over the school merger, Black was the only board member who advocated the unification of the community, constantly reiterating to her fellow board members that "we've got to listen to the community; we've got to do something different." The Durham community was then split on the school board's voting procedures. The white population wanted a voting system that allowed the entire community to choose all seven members-at-large of the board. The black population wanted district voting because they are concentrated in certain areas of Durham, which makes it easier for them to elect black candidates. Black explained.

I said I wanted a plan that would let the people vote for more than three people. The plan would have some districts and some at-large voting. One of the things that I asked is that it be fair and constitutional. If the courts say "Mary Ann Black, this plan is unconstitutional," I will be the first one out there to go about trying to figure out how to go about designing a new plan. Being able to form a consensus around the community is what I won a national award for. I have gotten a lot of phone calls from people who have thanked me for standing up and being strong and not ripping up this community.

Black was extremely proud of her role in the divisive merger issue. As a county com-

missioner, she fought for improvements that benefit the entire community. Viewing the political structure, she devised methods to alleviate problems like the school board issue. Her political identity as a black female and social worker motivated her to bring certain issues to the forefront. She admitted that when “you get elected you need to think about how does this vote impact all areas and everybody,” but she is highly conscious of female issues whenever she votes on legislation. She said, “When I’m looking at funding programs, I’m thinking in the back of my head, ‘Now, how will this positively affect families who are in trouble?’ I’m concerned with jobs that pay well because, as you know, females tend to be in jobs that don’t pay well. When we have females as heads of households that are getting minimum wage jobs, you’re putting people into poverty.”

Black’s activities were strongly centered on improving the socioeconomic status for all people. Black thought about women and blacks when she talked to the Chamber of Commerce about better jobs because she wanted to elevate everyone’s social status. This is an important subject because, in general, “Conditions in the wider political economy simultaneously shape black women’s subordination and foster activism.”

As a commissioner, Black worked to improve the efficiency of the Department of Social Services, whose standards have improved, raising benefits for families and children. Her objective in the social services department was “to help the department move to a better place in the sense of protecting children and senior citizens. So I was instrumental in helping the department move forward in terms of protecting children.”

As a social worker who counseled children and women primarily, she was aware of the disadvantages of these groups. Her recognition of the issues that affect them caused her to formulate her agenda, both in and out of the political arena, to center on bettering the services that primarily affect these groups. Outside her work as a commissioner, Black tutored and raised scholarship money for children in Durham with her sorority, whose main interest is community service. With respect to her overall leadership, she felt that she lent a “sense of fairness [and] a perspective that is balanced.”<sup>47</sup> Mary Ann Black is recognized as an advocate for blacks, women, and children; her actions made an authoritative impression, and she earned a great measure of respect in the community.

Mozelle Robinson, the director of administrative services in the Financial Aid Department at North Carolina Central University and a member of the school board for five years, was also greatly concerned with educational affairs in Durham. Since the early 1970s, she had been active in local politics, registering people to vote and organizing precinct volunteers and voting poll workers. On the school board, she focused on a variety of issues concerning education, stating,

I have tried to advocate the need to close the academic gap that exists among the races of Durham’s students. I have tried to get people to talk about “equity” rather than “equal” when it comes to putting resources where the greatest needs are for improving performance. I have tried to bring about unity among citizens in Durham by focusing on what’s best for the children. I have tried to represent grassroots people and socio-economically disadvantaged students, who may not otherwise have a voice.

Robinson believed that since black women have always been active in Durham politics, they advanced in government because they acquired organizational skill from their experience in the community. In her opinion, they are highly concerned with improving the economic status of the whole populace, which is obvious, as she remarked, “from the range of our involvements — from public office to the Chamber of Commerce to community service sororities.”



Robinson sensed that black women bring a more delicate approach to these boards. As a black single mother, she thinks that she is more responsive to certain issues, for example, after-school child care, than some of her fellow board members. Because of her experiences, Robinson said she is especially sensitive to issues where race and gender intersect, which affects her political behavior.

As for her accomplishments on the school board, Robinson helped implement a new student assignment system, saying it "has brought all of Durham's students together under one system, a system still in its infancy." She also served on the board that passed the school merger. Her actions and those of other black women helped create more unity in the community. She remarked, "Durham must move forward together for what's best for our entire city."<sup>48</sup>

Black women's concern for improving Durham's educational and economic systems stretched further than the school board, the Board of County Commissioners, and the City Council. Jeanne Lucas, a state senator, openly declared that she had always championed legislation for educating children. Having lived through the civil rights struggle in Durham, she thought that the problems of the day were still the same. Education, welfare, health care, affordable housing, and taxes were important issues that still had to be addressed. With more black women moving to the forefront in the political arena, she believed they were being dealt with more often. In the senate, she thought that there had been a void of voice. In other words, the black lower-class population, as well as the female population, had not usually had a representative in the Senate who was interested in advocating their positions. Through supporting the improvement of such systems as welfare and social services, Lucas ensured that the issues of the voiceless groups were addressed, whereas they normally would not have been mentioned.

Lucas saw that more than at any time in the past, Durham black women were chairing various committees and organizations, which had a decidedly positive impact. Women in decision-making roles continue to work through the community to effect change. Their actions opened the eyes of the Durham leaders to the concerns of the underclass population as well as encouraging other black women to become politically active. Through Delta Sigma Theta and her church, Lucas also worked in the community to bring about change. She was secretary of the Board of Trustees and taught Sunday school. In addition to her church work, she founded Habitat for Humanity in Durham, but as a state senator she didn't have much time to devote to community activities. In the Senate she fought for children, the elderly, and the disabled, hoping that her work "[made] sure that families who don't have a voice are maintained. [She wanted] to make sure people aren't hurt by legislation."<sup>49</sup> It is necessary for black women to be in positions of power because there is seldom anyone else to safeguard their needs.

With black women increasingly in significant positions, the diverse concerns of Durham's population began to be addressed. Elaine O'Neal Lee is an ideal representative of this trend. As one of the youngest district judges in North Carolina, she perceived Durham as an unusually progressive southern town that contributed largely to the political progress of black women. With Duke, North Carolina Central University, and the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill generating liberal ideas, the city's residents became more receptive to black women as leaders.

Lee viewed women like Jeanne Lucas, Elna Spaulding, and county judge Carolyn Johnson as role models, realizing that black women "have had to come to the forefront." In her early thirties, Lee said that every time she sat in court, she saw "the breakdown of the black family. I guess for me it's even more so because every time I'm in criminal

court, that's where I see our men. Every time I am in juvenile court, that's where I see our male children. Every time I'm in child support court I see our men again."

Lee believed that the lack of a black male family, of community, and of positions of power forced black women to assume leadership. As a young, strong black woman in the judicial system, she hoped her presence would give others the courage to break the barriers that hindered black women's progress. She said that black women showed the community that they were "going to have a say-so in Durham." Lee ran into problems because of her age — many thought she was too young to have such a high position of power. But she said, "Well, the majority of the people coming through this court are my age. They are my peers and who better to pass judgment on them? Don't tell me I'm too young; those arguments aren't valid. If I'm too young, then surely Reagan was too old!"

Her age did not handicap Lee as a district court judge. She worked diligently to present fair and equal decisions in all her cases, saying that when people saw her on the bench, she wanted them "first of all to see a black woman, but in the understanding that we're all in this together. We all got to work together. Here I come from a different culture, different way of life, but when I make my decisions I try to make them on an individual basis, keeping in mind that I have to follow the law in terms of what punishment or in the interest of fairness." As an elected black official, Elaine O'Neal Lee considered herself not as a crusader for the black community, but rather as a representative for the whole community.

Lee, an advocate for children, tried to ensure that her decisions reflected what was best for the children involved because they were helpless and at the mercy of her rulings. Like Jeanne Lucas, she did not want children to be hurt by legislation or by her findings. She said that she received a loving, giving spirit from her mother, which pushes her to do all she can to help people.

As a student at NCCU Law School, Lee initiated a mentoring program for Durham children and the students at the law school in addition to being active in the community with Delta Sigma Theta. She said that when she was younger, she used "to pray to the Lord that He would send me something where I could satisfy this desire to help others. So here I am!"<sup>50</sup>

There she was, one of the few influential black women, proving to the greater Durham community that such women, young and old, were quite capable of leading the community and tackling judicial matters. Her work also reflected her personal desires to protect those who lacked control. She helped break down the judicial system barriers for black women.

While her court endeavors had a significant effect, Lee sensed that women who do not hold visible positions of power are the real heroes.<sup>51</sup> She said,

I can think of African-American females who are not necessarily in the paper all the time but who are what I call silent givers. One lady was my campaign manager. She was the key person behind the march — Unity March in Durham, in February of [1946] — and I cannot remember if her name was mentioned. But she was the organizer, Marian Cobbs. Hazel Rich was very instrumental in [my] being elected. She was the chairman of the Durham Housing Authority and she's well-known in certain circles, but if you mention her name on the street [people] will say, "Who's that?"<sup>52</sup>

Beverly Washington Jones shared Lee's sentiments, saying, "When you begin to look at the whole idea of involvement in politics, you really have to define what you mean. It is important to define what you're looking at. You do have what is called grassroots leadership. Some people who are leaders politically decide they can do more not by being

elected, but by maintaining their involvement in the community." Jones had been active in the continual struggle for civil rights in Durham since her middle-school days. For example, addressing gender issues in the schools, she surveyed reasons why girls do not perform as well as boys in science and math. In addition, she worked on project AMPLE (African-American Males Preparing for Excellence) and with Governor James Hunt "in terms of creating SAT preps to see why kids aren't making the level they need to be making." She also worked with programs testing magnet systems in schools and laboratory schools with small classes.

Her concern for educational and children's issues is one of the reasons Jones served on the Durham school board. Jones thought that having minorities there allowed normally powerless groups to have a voice. Black people, as she saw it, "no longer want to defer power. We want one of us sitting on the board." Abuse of power by public officials inspired her to get involved. She stated, "My involvement was because the superintendent decided to furlough everyone. I said that's ridiculous, he must be stopped. So that's when I decided I needed to run because I [knew] that this is not the way it operates."<sup>53</sup>

The outspoken, confident stand of black women brought them far in Durham politics. But most public officials recognized that a number of other women go unnoticed simply because they do not hold public office.

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### **The Silent Givers**

The black women in electoral politics were trying to change the institutions to serve the entire community. It is notable that many of them began working in Durham and in its organizations. Beverly Jones, Elaine O'Neal Lee, and numerous others emphasized that the community had a number of leaders, many of whom moved from secretary to president in the organizations, yet they tend to be invisible because they have not served in electoral politics. As Jones remarked, the boundaries of politics must be expanded to include them because the traditional outlines of activity do not truly incorporate grassroots politics. Black women's politics was born through grassroots enterprises; to marginalize the women is to further marginalize the significance of their political achievements. Although most of them are regarded as leaders by the larger community, they have not chosen to become part of the formal political structure.

Cynthia Brown, for instance, who, in 1996, had lived in Durham for only five years, learned that the black women were heavily involved in politics. Brown had just been elected to the Durham City Council but said she had not yet accomplished anything there. Still, she had been highly engaged in the community through local organizations. Recounting her projects, she said, "In low-income-housing communities, I've been involved in trying to help provide leadership development so that they can start to organize themselves around workplace issues, school issues, and those kinds of things. A lot of the work that I have been involved with has been around economic injustice questions."

Brown also worked through the Institute for Southern Studies to examine solutions to systemic oppression. In 1996 she was the executive director of Southerners for Economic Justice and had worked with the alumni association of Bennett College to raise money so that others could attend college. Although new to Durham politics, she thought that having black women in electoral and other positions of power brought a different perspective to the political table. "There is no way that an African-American woman could be at the table and not have some impact, but the fact [is] that when we come to the table, we're gonna be thinking about issues that may not even cross men's minds. We're



gonna bring our relationships with our children and the kind of issues that have to do with our well-being in the community.”

Brown’s political agenda concentrated primarily on equality and justice for Durham’s low-income residents. She believed that once the lower socioeconomic classes are elevated, all other groups would be elevated. Her goal as a city councilwoman was “seeing that wherever resources can be invested in underserved communities, that they get their fair share.” She added,

[The political issue is] not just about ensuring that resources get invested; it’s about helping everybody else understand their relationship to these communities so that they then see that they need to be investing time. I can make sure that I advocate that they invest money into these communities to improve housing. However, if I don’t talk about trying to provide jobs in those communities and the supports that will enable human development, then it’s only a matter of time before those physical structures are torn down.<sup>54</sup>

I suspect that Brown’s work on the City Council and in other community organizations has had a great impact on the educational and economic resources in Durham. I also think that her perspective is an example of Beverly Jones’s comment that the trend of black women’s politics was moving toward economic rather than social issues and that black women were beginning to address those issues.

Ann Atwater, a longtime Durham grassroots leader, had always been concerned with economic issues. During the civil rights era she worked tirelessly for the rights of low-income-housing residents. In her mid-sixties in 1996, Atwater was raising two grandchildren and was president of her Birchwood Heights community. She said she was “working with adjacent communities in trying to [rid] our neighborhood [of] drugs.” Atwater had been very active in the Democratic Party, serving as its vice chair. She worked on her own, as well as through her church, to find affordable housing for families and provide them with clothing and used furniture to save money for them. She, along with her church group, “[got] up people’s rent, light bill, and water bill to help them live happy.”<sup>55</sup> In addition, Atwater worked on the Victims Organization’s Assistance Board, helping drug addicts and victims of abuse take control of their lives. Fighting the Housing Authority to fix her community’s activity center, she declared that you have to be strong with the institutional leaders in Durham because there is a great amount of discrimination against low-income people. Although she remained in a low-income-housing area, she gained the respect of people all over Durham and received more than two hundred awards for her struggle to end discrimination and inequity in the city.

When one discusses fighting discrimination in Durham, the NAACP immediately comes to mind because it has been one of the most vigorous black institutions in the area. Like many civil rights institutions, the NAACP was run primarily by men. Yet in 1986, Florine Robinson became president of the Durham chapter. Through it, she fought to eliminate racism, saying that while she was president, “everything was focused on racism. I was the president of the NAACP for seven years, and during that time we worked with people who were having racial problems and those who were disadvantaged.” To Robinson, the political advancement of black women had a great impact because she believed it had given everyone “an opportunity to learn about each other,” referring to strong attempts by many women to increase communication between the races.

As president of the NAACP, Robinson founded a number of chapters, including those at Duke University and NCCU. Under her leadership the NAACP held a number of conferences about racism with the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Blacks and the Min-

isterial Alliance. Not limiting her efforts to the NAACP, she sat on the Durham Alcohol Board of Control for fifteen years — first black member — making policy decisions surrounding such issues as legal drinking-age limits. She chaired the programming committee for the National Council for Black Women, worked with her church as president of the Missionary Society, and was a member of Church Women United. Robinson looked back on her participation, saying, “I have tried my best. I think I have played a great part in trying to eliminate racism. I think I have accomplished something.”<sup>56</sup> Florine Robinson certainly accomplished “something.” She not only showed black women that they could preside over influential organizations but also helped to make people aware that racism and discrimination still existed and must be fought until it was effectively eliminated. A number of women agreed with Robinson’s sentiments about discrimination. Many worked through biracial organizations to increase communications between different cultures.

In 1996, Betty McNair, who was a friend of Florine Robinson’s, had not lived in Durham very long, but she had joined the ranks of the other politically active black females who were trying to create a better future for everyone. Her prime interest was in family and children, a central theme of black women. She worked through Alpha Kappa Alpha to serve the community. For example, “Each year, we give a scholarship to black women going to college. We do things like the soup kitchen [and] we contribute money to other organizations such as NAACP. Sometimes we have workshops on some of the common illnesses and problems of blacks.”

McNair had also been president of Church Women United for a year. The Durham chapter, established in 1973, began and remained a biracial organization that focused on aiding the women and children in the community and the world. McNair identified Church Women United as an “ecumenical movement composed of Christian women of all nationalities, ages, and denominations.”<sup>57</sup> It promoted interaction through helping those less fortunate, for example, helping communities around the world to procure clean water and healthy living conditions. In Durham it encouraged multicultural worship and designated spring and fall days for the celebration of unity and multiculturalism.

Faye Mayo, another Robinson friend, a strong fighter for the rights of handicapped people, also wanted to eliminate discrimination. She had been active in the Durham civil rights struggle and had continued her activism. A middle-school guidance counselor, Mayo tried to maintain a keen involvement in the community. With her students, she organized programs that reconstructed the civil rights fight to teach them about their history. She collected a number of little-known articles that document historical moments pertinent to the African-Americans of Durham. She assembled several poster boards as visual displays to present to her students, creating past events that showed a portion of history in which she had participated.

Her experience as a protester for civil rights combined with that as a mother drove Mayo to the fight for the handicapped. When her daughter, who was born autistic, reached school age, no Durham school offered programs for the autistic or classes for special-needs children. A concerned parent, Mayo began to battle for implementation of autistic classes in the schools. “I [had] gone to the school board to get better services because we have a daughter that is handicapped. I guess I have been very outspoken in speaking for the handicapped. Now I think they have about six classes from elementary to high school.”

Despite her maternal identity, Mayo continued working in other areas. She attended meetings of the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People and took part in the

polls, saying, "I still go to the polls and handle work on the polls. I [also] do telephoning for the precincts. So I guess once you start out, you just find yourself just going and still fighting. Some of it's personal; some of it's with an organization."<sup>58</sup>

All these women fought silently and outwardly as members of organizations. But it was usually personal circumstances that propelled them into politics. Unfortunately, "individuals are all too often treated as if they are cut off from their community environment and examined as if in a vacuum." Black women's community and familial environments are essential elements of their identity, and when assessing black women's political ventures, one must take all factors into account. Regardless of the limitations these women endured, they continued to fight; the "legacy of struggle suggests that African-American culture generally, and black women's culture in particular, provide potent alternative interpretations" to politics.<sup>59</sup>

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## Conclusion

"The black woman in the American political arena has dared to be different, despite a history of legal, social, and economic obstacles to her inclusion in the American polity. The twin legacies of racism and sexism . . . have shaped the focus and extent of their involvement in the political process in our country."<sup>60</sup>

Black women in Durham have gone through a dynamic political transition since the civil rights period. Their *modus operandi* has gone from a community-based secondary role in the black struggle for equality to asserting themselves in all areas of formal politics. During the civil rights era, these women played a supportive role because societal restrictions limited the cooperation of blacks. Although their role at the time was less visible, it was nevertheless important. One must remember that as the foundation and support for the movement, they were instrumental in initiating political change for Durham.

With many legal discriminatory barriers lifted, the black women became a vital force in every area of life. They remained mothers, wives, sisters, and community leaders, but they expanded their roles, becoming presidents and vice presidents of business organizations as well as such community groups as the NAACP. They ventured out to become City Council members, school board chairperson, district court judges, and senators. They still "run" the local organizations and bring to Durham's political structure their alternative perspectives, which offer a new and unique approach to politics.

Their cultural experiences formed black women's political consciousness. Blacks have endured the inequities of racial discrimination, and within their prescribed social sphere, the women gained firsthand knowledge of discrepancies and were motivated to implement change. Their disenfranchisement from the civil rights struggle and the feminist movement helped them formulate their approaches. They have become extremely sensitive and aware of the issues surrounding poverty as well as those of limited employment and discrimination. The intersection of gender and race further enhanced their awareness of and desire for change. Cynthia Brown said, "It is so difficult for me to separate out what I believe intellectually, spiritually, and emotionally about what we bring to the table any time as African-American women."<sup>61</sup> Their identity as black persons who have experienced Jim Crow and economic inequity made them politically active. Their desire to secure a better future for their children and their community also contributed to their political astuteness. It is frequently true that when one studies the politics of a group



“individuals are all too often treated as if they are cut off from their community environment and examined as if they live in a vacuum.”<sup>62</sup>

Black women in Durham have been and are still community oriented. Their family and community involvement generated their cognizance of the need for equal educational opportunities and efficient government services. As mothers who have either experienced poverty or know those who have, black women are concerned with the welfare of children, which they consider an avenue for uplifting the race. As they assume powerful political positions, their everyday experiences and issues accompany them. As they express the concerns and agendas of elected officials, they deal with issues that both their white and black male and their white female colleagues do not often address. Black women, with their unique perspective, began to fill the gaps in the political structure with a diverse point of view. Their twofold identity is attributable to their experiences as women and blacks. Because they understand the issues confronting disadvantaged communities, they created a space in which the voices of blacks, women, and other minorities are heard. Their accomplishments and presence in the political structure of Durham have not only empowered all black people but encouraged other black women to reach for the higher stations in life.

No matter what point in the history of black women is observed, one finds that their political participation has always been significant and important to the success of the black community. With the recognition of their political identity, the definitions of politics and history must be expanded to include the black women's vital life force in American society. Black women, who have not always had the legal right to participate in the political structure, have been almost exclusively grassroots oriented. Grassroots politics should not be assigned to the margins because its leaders play an important role in the political life of the black community as well as the larger American community. The progress and accomplishments of the black women of Durham — as well as other areas — suggest that they need not occupy fourth-class status. If political condition is measured by amount of influence in the decision-making process, Durham's black women deserve a much higher standing in society. ❀

*First and foremost, I thank God for giving me the strength to complete my thesis. I am grateful to the incredible women who took time out of their busy schedules for interviews, hoping I have done justice to their extraordinary accomplishments. I appreciate the assistance of the people who helped me with revisions, suggestions, and valuable criticism. Finally, I offer a special thank-you to my patient roommates, who encouraged me throughout this project.*

## Appendix A

### Interviews

Ann Atwater, March 4, 1996  
Mary Ann Black, March 25, 1996  
Cynthia Brown, March 1, 1996  
Willa Bryant, March 6, 1996  
Josephine Clement, February 23, 1996  
Betty Copeland, March 9, 1996  
Debra Giles, February 29, 1996  
Beverly Washington Jones, February 15, 1996  
Elaine O'Neal Lee, March 5, 1996  
Jeanne Lucas, March 19, 1996  
Betty McNair, March 7, 1996  
Faye Mayo, March 21, 1996  
Florine Robinson, March 4, 1996  
Mozelle Robinson, March 18, 1996  
Elna Spaulding, February 23, 1996  
Margaret Turner, March 19, 1996  
Virginia Williams, February 23, 1996

## Appendix B

### Questionnaire

1. How would you describe the civil rights struggle in Durham?
2. Who were the leaders of the African-American community in Durham at the time?
3. What issues were of most importance to African-Americans during this period?
4. Were African-American women part of this movement and what type of role did they play?
5. What organizations were African-American women a part of at this time? What type of role did they play in these organizations?
6. Many social scientists have found that throughout the civil rights movement African-American women played a back role to African-American men. Was this the case in Durham and do you think that there was a reason for that?
7. Would you say that African-American women in Durham were concerned with improving the social, economic, and political status of the African-American community?
8. Would you say that the political actions of African-American women have had an impact on the African-American community?
9. How would you gauge the impact of African-American women during this time on the larger Durham community? Great or insignificant?
10. What kind of things were you a part of at that time?
11. In the post-civil rights period until the present, have the activities of African-American women changed? How so?
12. What women have been involved since the civil rights movement?
13. What organizations are they part of today?
14. I know that today many African-American women sit on the school board and various other political boards. Do you think there is a reason for this? Also, what do you think these women bring to these institutions?
15. Are African-American women today concerned with improving the social, economic, and political status of the African-American community?
16. Have their political actions had an impact and how would you rate it?
17. How has the Durham community benefited from their actions?
18. What kind of things have you been doing? What things have you tried to accomplish or change in Durham? How do you think your actions have impacted the community?
19. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about African-American women in Durham?



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## Notes

1. For further explanation of the unique identity of black women owing to the intersection of race and gender, see Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 1991).
2. Delores P. Aldridge, "African-American Women in the Economic Marketplace," *Journal of Black Studies* 21 (1989): 130.
3. The political power structure in America, in its usual descending order, places white males at the top followed by white women, black men, and finally black women. Therefore, in the political structure, black women have been fourth-class citizens because of their race and gender.
4. Full documentation of all data and transcripts of interviews is available at the Duke University Department of African and African-American Studies
5. Margaret Elaine Burgess, *Negro Leadership in a Southern City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), and William Keech, *The Impact of Black Voting* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).
6. Interview with Josephine Clement, February 23, 1996, in Durham, where all interviews took place.
7. North Carolina Mayors' Cooperating Committee (hereafter NCMCC), *North Carolina and the Negro* (Raleigh: State College Print Shop, 1964).
8. I learned about the significance of the railroad tracks from Durham residents with whom I spoke. I also saw the contrast while driving around the city, especially near the old East End school near Holloway Street.
9. NCMCC, *North Carolina and the Negro*, 71.
10. Interview with Faye Mayo, March 21, 1996.
11. Interview with Debra Giles, February 29, 1996.
12. Pauli Murray, *Autobiography of a Black Activist, Feminist, Lawyer, Priest, and Poet* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 108.
13. Walter Weare, *Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 4.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid..
16. Interview with Elaine O'Neal Lee, March 5, 1996.
17. Weare, *Black Business in the New South*, 4.
18. Lee interview.
19. NCMCC, *North Carolina and the Negro*, 62, 67. For more information on the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Negroes, see Weare, *Black Business in the New South*, 240–251.
20. Keech, *The Impact of Negro Voting*, 85.
21. Interview with Virginia Williams, February 23, 1996.
22. Mayo interview.
23. NCMCC, *North Carolina and the Negro*, 264.
24. Interview with Beverly Washington Jones, February 15, 1996.
25. Giles interview.
26. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 132.
27. Interview with Betty Copeland, March 9, 1996.
28. Weare, *Black Business in the New South*, 240.
29. Clement interview.
30. Carlene Young, "Psychodynamics of Coping and Survival of the African-American Female in a Changing World," *Journal of Black Studies* 20 (1989): 123–143.
31. Williams interview.
32. Interview with Elna Spaulding, February 23, 1996.
33. Interview with Ann Atwater, March 4, 1996.
34. Robert Staples, *The Black Woman in America: Sex, Marriage, and the Family* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1973), 11.
35. Interview with Margaret Turner, March 19, 1996.

36. Beverly Jones, "Working in Tobacco: An Oral History of Durham's Tobacco Factory Workers," pamphlet (Durham: North Carolina Central University History Department, 1988), 11.
37. Turner interview.
38. Williams interview.
39. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 115.
40. Clement interview.
41. Ibid.
42. Keech, *The Impact of Negro Voting*, ch. 1.
43. Clement interview.
44. Giles interview.
45. Interview with Willa Bryant, March 6, 1996.
46. Copeland interview.
47. Interview with Mary Ann Black, March 25, 1996.
48. Interview with Mozelle Robinson, March 18, 1996.
49. Interview with Jeanne Lucas, March 19, 1996.
50. Lee interview.
51. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 10.
52. Lee interview.
53. Jones interview.
54. Interview with Cynthia Brown, March 1, 1996.
55. Atwater interview.
56. Interview with Florine Robinson, March 4, 1996.
57. Interview with Betty McNair, March 7, 1996.
58. Mayo interview.
59. Lee interview.
60. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 12.
61. Brown interview.
62. Sheila Harmon-Martin, "Black Women in Politics: A Research Note," in Hanes Walton, Jr., ed., *Black Politics and Black Political Behavior* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), 209.

# Nursing Homes to Medicaid Waiver Programs in Vermont

Joseph Murray

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*This research examines the differences between nursing home residents and those who were able to leave nursing homes with the help of the Medicaid Waiver Program in Vermont. Ninety individuals who reentered the community with the aid of such waivers were compared with a random sample of nursing home residents through the use of the Nursing Home Minimum Data Set. The researchers found divergence in four key areas: cognition, continence, treatment categories, and desire to return to the community. Typically, those who left nursing homes for the community were cognitively intact, had moderate continence, received rehabilitative or clinically complex treatments, and expressed a desire to return to the community. Contrary to the prevailing theory, no differences were found between groups in the ability to perform activities of daily living, except for toilet use. This report also found that community-based treatment under the Medicaid waiver was a cost-effective alternative to traditional nursing home care.*

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## Goals

This report has three main goals: (1) to examine information about those who entered the Medicaid Waiver Programs (MWP), which include both the Home and Community-Based System and the Enhanced Residential Care Medicaid Waiver Programs, directly from a nursing home;<sup>1</sup> (2) to determine if it was possible to combine and link information about these people from various data sources; and (3) to ascertain whether expenditures for waiver services had an effect on nursing home use and expenditures.

## Data Sources

Data for this study were gathered from three primary databases: the nursing home Minimum Data Set 2.0 (MDS), Medicaid claims, and the Service Accounting and Management System (SAMS). Each holds different types of information, is maintained by a different source, and has a different purpose. The MDS, a survey mandated by the Health Care Financing Administration, which contains more than 400 variables, is filled out by nursing home staff. This data set contains information on demographics, levels of care, cognition, physical impairment, activities of daily living, medications, discharge likelihood, and rehabilitative services. The Medicaid claims database provides information on all Medicaid payments, including dates of service, facility information, and types of service for nursing homes and MWP services. The SAMS database contains assessment and service data on all clients served by the Division of Advocacy and Independent Living. SAMS includes information from the Independent Living Assessment, which covers many of the same topics as the MDS. SAMS has, in addition, extensive information on

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informal supports, home environment, instrumental activities of daily living, and nutrition.

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### **Sample Selection**

In state fiscal year (SFY) 1998, the Division of Advocacy and Independent Living, which oversees the Medicaid Waiver Programs, authorized 469 priority admissions.<sup>2</sup> Of these, 132 were for individuals who were seeking to move from nursing homes to the community. To qualify for MWP services, they had to meet both the clinical and the financial eligibility requirements for Medicaid-covered nursing home care.

These people made up the pool from which the study group was selected. Some were excluded from the pool although they were granted priority admission because they did not use the waiver attributable to such factors as lack of interest; improvements in physical condition; rapid physical decline; death; and lack of family support. While some services, usually case management, were delivered to about 113 individuals, substantial MWP services were offered to 90 persons, who made up the primary study group.<sup>3</sup>

A second group of 385 nursing home residents was randomly selected from the MDS database over a two-year period from July 1966 to July 1998 ( $N = 385$ ) to act as a control group. The two-year span was selected so that the control group could be representative of as wide a time frame as practical.

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### **Consumers**

#### ***Typical Profile***

The typical person who moved from a nursing home to a Medicaid Waiver Program in 1998 was a seventy-eight-year-old woman. Entering the nursing home from a hospital, she resided there for fewer than ninety days before entering the waiver program. There was an almost 50 percent chance that she had received waiver services at some time in the past. Her ability to understand, communicate, and make decisions was good. While in the nursing home, she probably received special rehabilitation services or care for a clinically complex condition. She needed extensive assistance with 2.5 activities of daily living (ADLs): bathing, dressing, transferring, toileting, and eating. She had a 50 percent likelihood of continence in bladder and bowel functions.

This woman resembled the typical nursing home resident in some ways but differed from her counterparts there in a few important practices. She was younger, had fewer extensive ADL needs (2.5 versus 3.0), and unlike many of her fellow residents, she could eat without help. She received more rehabilitation therapy, a larger number of medications, was more likely to be continent and more often able to make independent decisions than the others. She had a strong preference for care in the community. Additionally, nursing home personnel predicted that she would be discharged within ninety days 30 percent of the time, a much higher percentage than the ninety-day-discharge prediction of 10 percent for the average resident.

#### ***Consumer Profile***

The study group was overwhelmingly comprised of women (79 percent) who ranged in age from 35 to 97, with an average age of 78 and a median age of 82. This was somewhat younger than the median age of the control group of nursing home residents, which was 86.

Length of stay information in the nursing home could not be determined for the control group, but it could be determined for about half the study group by calculating the time between the last nursing home admission and the waiver application date. With this date as a criterion, 76.7 percent of the study group were in a nursing home less than 90 days. The median stay was 71 days, and the average length of stay was 85 days. Lengths of stay were between 12 and 239 days, which means that most members of the study group were not long-term users of nursing homes.

**Reason for Admission to Nursing Home**

*Finding 1. A change in functional status accounted for more than 80 percent of nursing home admissions for the study group.*

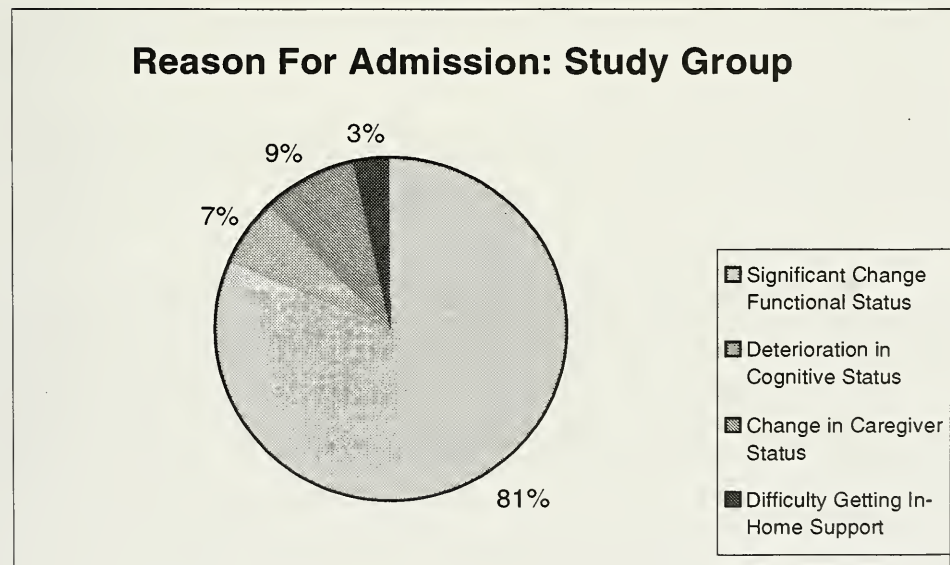
Significant change in functional status is the overwhelming reason for admission to a nursing home. Change in status is cited for more than 81 percent of admissions for the study group when multiple answers to this question were analyzed on a proportional basis.

In those cases where only a single reason for admission to the nursing home was cited, functional status accounted for 66.3 percent of admissions, followed by change in caregiver status at 4.7 percent. Cognitive deterioration and difficulty arranging or paying for in-home support were never cited as the total Medicaid savings sole cause for admission.

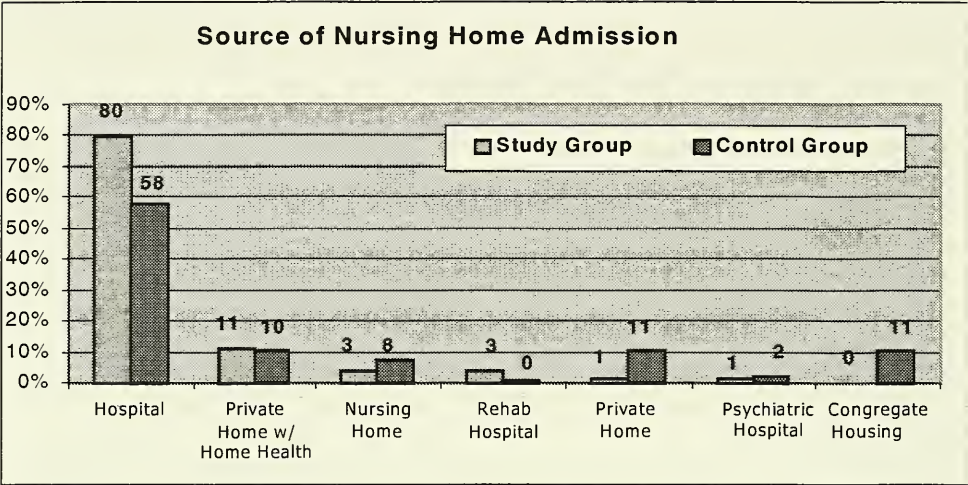
**Admission Source**

*Finding 2. The vast majority of the study group entered the nursing home from a hospital. It is likely that a representative of a home health agency saw nine out of ten members of the study group before they entered the nursing home.*

The vast majority of the study group (91 percent) was admitted to the nursing home from a hospital (80 percent) or a private home with home health services (11 percent). This is different from the random nursing home sample in which hospitals and households with home health services accounted for a total of only 68 percent of nursing home admissions. Compared with a similar report produced in 1998, admissions from hospitals



are up by 11 percent, while admissions from private homes with home health services are 12 percent lower than they were in 1999.



**Activities of Daily Living**

*Finding 3. Activities of daily living, as measured by the Minimum Data Set 2.0, is not a reliable predictor of candidates for Home and Community-based Medicaid waivers.*

Activities of daily living is a widely accepted standard for assessing functional abilities. The MDS, required for all nursing home residents, supplies a clear picture of the level of assistance needed by both the study group and the control group. The functional challenges faced by the study group were extensive, their deficits appearing to be less than the random nursing home sample. However, the variations are not statistically significant as a whole. In spite of this finding, two differences are present: (1) the control group had a higher percentage of people who were totally dependent in all ADLs, and (2) the study group had a much higher percentage of people who were independent or needed supervision only for eating.

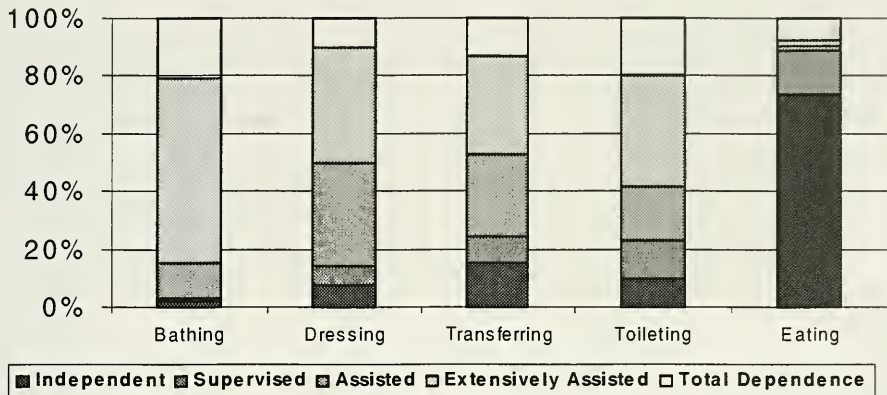
The study group presented many functional challenges that required extensive assistance while they were in nursing facilities. With the single exception of eating, supervision and assistance were typically required to complete all ADLs.

**Study Group: Most Assistance Needed with Any One ADL**

Extensive Assistance	Assistance	Supervision	Independent
82	6	2	0



### Study Group - Functional ADL Level Last MDS Before Waiver



#### ADLs in Detail

#### MDS Activities of Daily Living: Study Group<sup>4</sup>

	Bathing	Dressing	Transferring	Toileting	Eating
Independent	2.2%	7.7%	15.4%	9.9%	73.6%
Supervised	1.1%	6.8%	8.8%	13.2%	15.4%
Assisted	12.1%	35.2%	28.6%	18.7%	1.1%
Extensively Assisted	63.7%	39.6%	34.1%	38.5%	2.2%
Total Dependence	20.9%	9.9%	13.2%	19.8%	7.7%
Did Not Occur	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Minimum Data Set 2.0.

#### MDS Activities of Daily Living: Control Group

	Bathing	Dressing	Transferring	Toileting	Eating
Independent	0.3%	4.4%	20.3%	14.3%	41.8%
Supervised	2.9%	7.8%	6.2%	5.7%	20.5%
Assisted	4.9%	21.0%	22.3%	15.8%	12.5%
Extensively Assisted	50.6%	39.7%	29.6%	33.5%	10.6%
Total Dependence	41.3%	26.2%	21.3%	30.1%	14.3%
Did Not Occur	0.0%	0.8%	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%

Source: Minimum Data Set 2.0.

The variations between the study group and the control group are best characterized as differences of degree. In general, the control group has only slightly more severe functional challenges on all ADL measures except eating.

### ***ADLs in the Community***

After moving into the community, the study group percentage of individuals who can function independently, as measured by the Independent Living Assessment, seems to increase substantially in all areas except eating.

**Independent Living Assessment  
Activities of Daily Living: Study Group in the Community**

	Bathing	Dressing	Transferring	Toileting	Eating
Independent	15.3%	38.7%	51.4%	55.0%	69.4%
Supervised	9.0%	8.1%	6.3%	9.0%	4.5%
Assisted	18.9%	18.9%	22.5%	13.5%	19.8%
Extensively Assisted	22.5%	18.0%	4.5%	1.8%	0.9%
Total Dependence	34.2%	16.2%	15.3%	20.7%	5.4%
Did Not Occur	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Independent Living Assessment, from Service Accountant and Management System.

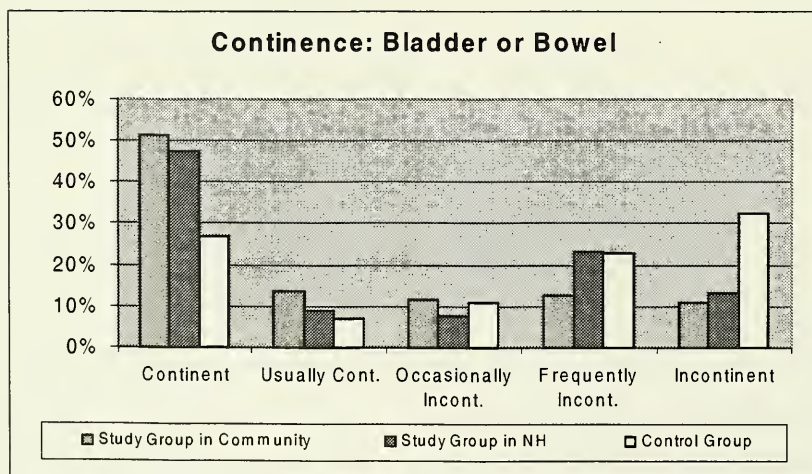
### ***Continence***

*Finding 4. The study group is significantly more continent than the control group, and continence seems to improve in the community.*

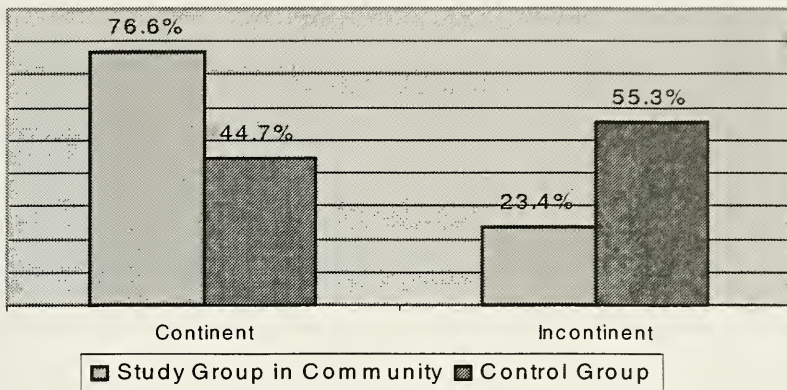
The study group has greater continence than the control group. Bladder and bowel continence are combined for this analysis to allow comparisons between the study group in the nursing home and after the nursing home. There is a large difference between the study group and the control group, the study group being the more continent.

The difference between the groups is dramatic when participants are placed in two classes, continent and incontinent.<sup>5</sup>

More than three out of four study group members were continent, compared with fewer than half of the control group of nursing home consumers.



### Continence: Bladder or Bowel

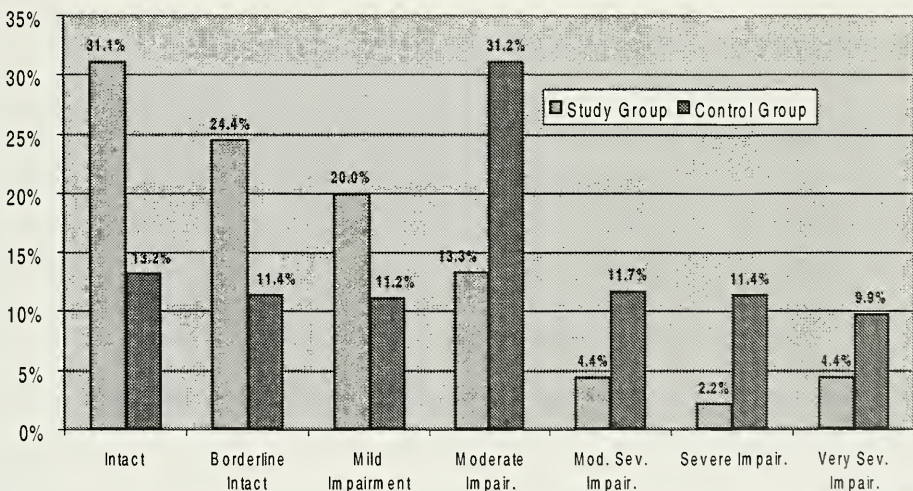


### Cognition

*Finding 5. The study and control groups have clear and striking differences in cognitive performance. As individuals' cognitive performance scores increase, it becomes more likely that they will move from a nursing home to waiver.*

The most clearly defined dissimilarity between the study sample and the control group was in the area of cognition as measured by the Cognitive Performance Scale.<sup>6</sup> The difference between the two groups is dramatic. In the study group, 75.5 percent scored as intact, borderline intact, or mild impairment. Only 38.8 percent of the control group was in the same categories.

### Cognitive Performance Score





### CPS Category Definitions

Intact	Independent in decision making, short-term memory, and making self understood
Borderline Intact	Independent in two of the following measures: decision making, short-term memory, and making self understood
Mild Impairment	Understood/usually understood by others, and independent/modified in daily decision making
Moderate Impairment	Usually understood by other or modified independence in daily decision making
Moderately Severe Impairment	Moderate impairment in decision making and sometimes/never understood
Severe Impairment	Severely impaired decision making and not totally dependent for eating
Very Severe Impairment	Severely impaired decision making and totally dependent for eating or comatose

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#### **RUGS-44**

*Finding 6. Study group members are much more likely to be recipients of rehabilitation or clinically complex care while in the nursing home than those in the control group. These RUGS-44 classifications clearly define the study group as one in which the majority were recovering from an illness, accident, or hospital stay.*

RUGS-44 classifies consumers of nursing home care in 44 separate categories that describe the amount and types of care each consumer requires. The study group dominates three of the RUGS classes: special rehabilitation high, special rehabilitation medium, and clinically complex. When the rehabilitative classes and the clinically complex classes are combined, they represent 73.3 percent of the study group and less than 30 percent of the control group.

The special rehabilitation categories include persons who are receiving physical, occupational, or speech therapy in addition to rehabilitative care. The therapies must be at least 45 minutes per week for low intensity, 150 minutes for medium intensity, and more than 300 minutes per week for high intensity.

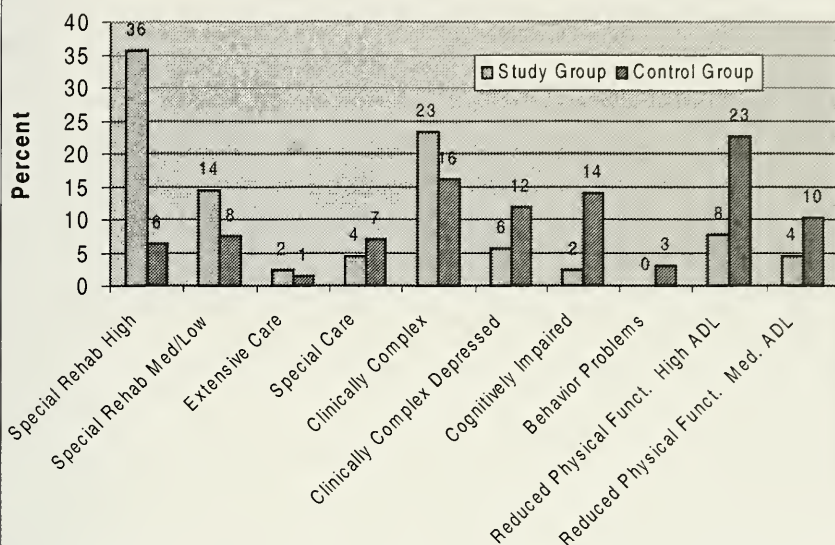
The clinically complex category covers persons who are receiving special care for specific illnesses. The majority of the study group who were in the clinically complex category were recovering from strokes and/or heart failure.

#### **RUGS-44: A Retrospective Look**

*Finding 7. Those in RUGS special rehabilitation categories are more likely to become long-term users of the waiver.*

A survey of Medicaid claims data from January 1999 gives an indication of the individuals in the study group who can maintain themselves in the community for a period of

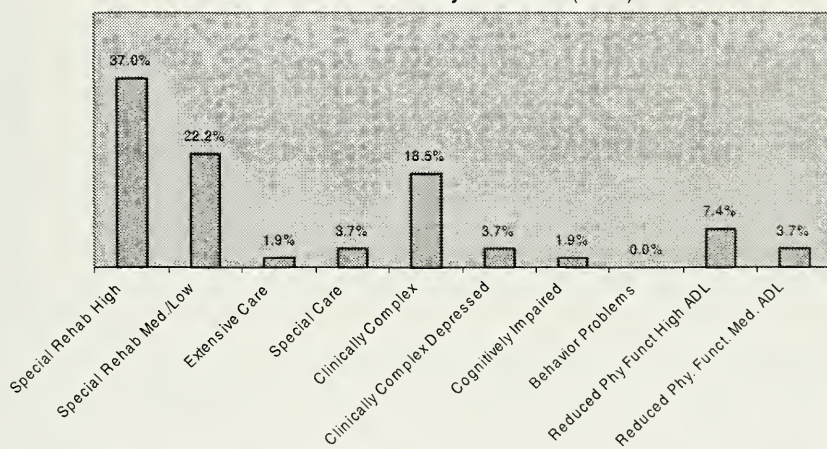
## RUGS 44 Class: Study and Control Groups



time. A review of Medicaid waiver claims indicates that seventy-five people, about three-fourths of the study group members, are still generating Medicaid waiver claims between six and eighteen months after entering the program.

The RUGS-44 Class figure represents the RUGS classes assigned in the nursing home to those with active claims in January 1999. Those who received special rehabilitation and clinically complex care account for nearly 78 percent of individuals who had active Medicaid Waiver Program claims in January. This means that the same RUGS classes which differentiate the study and control groups also identify long-term MWP waivers.

**RUGS 44 Class: Study Group**  
**Members in Community Jan. 1999 (n=75)**



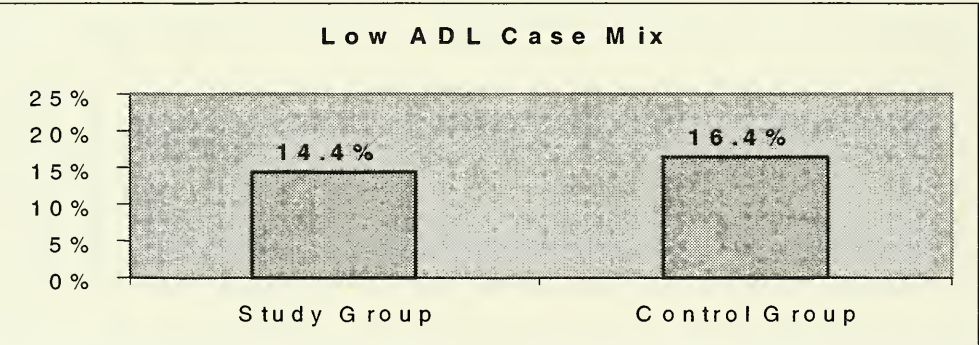
**RUGS-44: Relative Differences:  
Study Group and Study Group with Claims in January 1999**

	Study Group	Study Group with Claims, January 1999
Special Rehabilitation (high)	35.6 percent	37.0 percent
Special Rehabilitation (medium/low)	14.4 percent	22.2 percent
Clinically Complex	23.3 percent	18.5 percent
N =	90	75

**Case Mix**

The Low ADL Case Mix is a combination of RUGS categories, which contain individuals who are most accurately described as having low ADL deficits.<sup>7</sup> The percentage of low ADL patients in the control group is nearly identical to the control group, 14.4 percent to 16.4 percent, respectively. This directly contradicts research that links lower ADL scores with success in community-based placement.<sup>8</sup>

The small differences in the Low ADL Case Mix score indicate that low ADLs as measured by the Minimum Data Set 2.0 are not a primary determinate of whether an individual moved to the community under an MWP waiver.

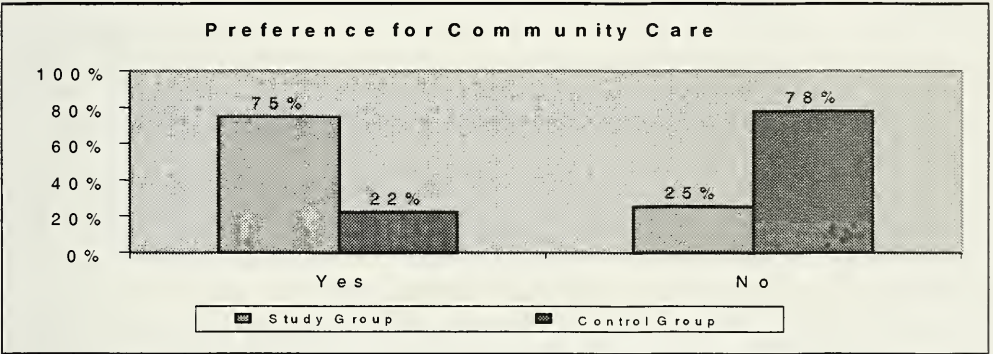
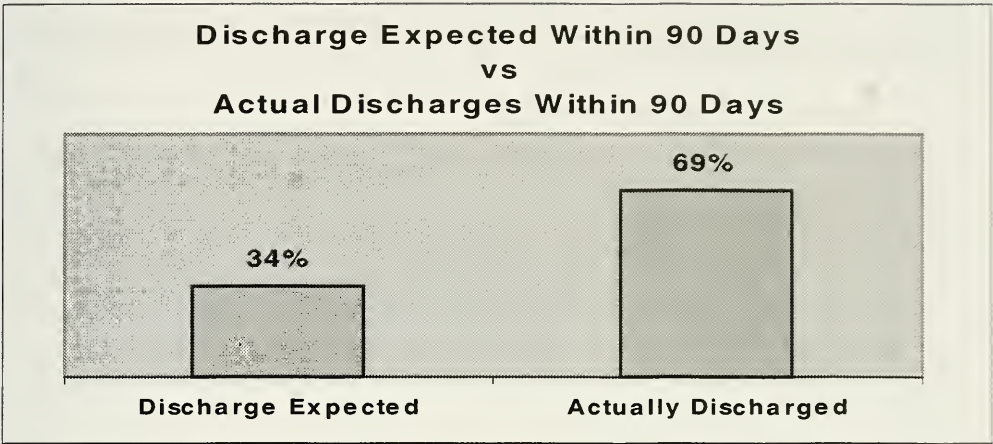


**Prior Waiver Services**

A majority of the study group members, 54 percent, had received some waiver services before securing a priority admission to the program in state fiscal year 1998.<sup>9</sup> To be admitted to the program more than once, an individual would have to terminate the program voluntarily, have a hospital/nursing home stay of more than thirty days, and become clinically or financially ineligible.

A significant number of the waiver users do move between nursing homes or hospitals and community-based services. This pattern is evidenced in the Medicaid claims which show that more than half the study group had Medicaid waiver claims prior to the nursing home stay. A similar pattern of movement can be seen in claims for SFY 1997.





**Discharge Planning**

*Finding 8. Study group members are much more likely than control group members to prefer a community care setting. Study group individuals are regarded as more likely candidates for discharge from a nursing home within ninety days even though nursing home staff underestimated the likelihood of discharge within that period by at least 30 percent.<sup>10</sup>*

**Community Care Preference**

As part of the MDS assessment, consumers were asked if they chose to return to the community. The study group consumers had a very strong preference for care in a community setting, nearly the exact opposite to that of the control group.<sup>11</sup>

Study group participants who made a successful transition to community-based care had their potential for discharge within ninety days rated quite low according to MDS data. There is a wide discrepancy between the percentage of residents the nursing home personnel thought could be discharged, 34 percent, and the percentage, 69 percent, who were actually discharged within ninety days of their MDS assessment.

### **Geographic Location and Type of Provider**

*Finding 9. Home health agencies enroll more consumers in MWP from nursing homes than area agencies on aging; there are also regional differences in the nursing home to MWP priority admission rates.*

### **Home Health and Area Agencies on Aging**

In Vermont, two types of agencies administer the MWP waiver. When the data for the study group are analyzed by type of agency, the utilization rate for home health agencies (HHAs) is more than twice that of the area agencies on aging (AAAs). It is difficult to explain why this disparity exists because both types of agencies use a team process with team members who represent similar community interest to determine who gets a waiver, and access to the waiver by region is set by the state through a slot allocation process. It should be noted that HHAs may be advantaged in this process through their presence in hospital discharge planning and the possibility that they have provided home health services to a particular client in the past.

**Distribution by Provider  
Type per Thousand Sixty-Five-Plus Population**

DAA Type	Priority Admissions, Nursing Home to Waiver	Study Group	Study Group with Claims, January 1999
AAA	7.81	4.15	3.77
HH	12.98	10.33	8.50

### **By Region**

Differences by county exist in the population standardized rate: (1) for priority admissions to the MWP waiver; (2) by use of the priority admission; and (3) for claims six to eighteen months after a priority admission to the MWP was granted. Across all measures, Addison County shows the highest rates of utilization of nursing home to MWP waiver; Lamoille and Orange counties show the lowest.

**Distribution per Thousand Sixty-Five-Plus Population**

County	DAA Type	Priority Admissions, Nursing Home to to Waive	Received Services	Billing, January 1999
Addison	HH	4.12	3.30	3.30
Orleans	AAA	2.73	1.91	1.91
Franklin	HH	2.50	2.04	1.81
Washington	HH	2.06	1.78	1.10
Chittenden/G.I.	HH	1.44	1.29	0.84
Bennington	HH	1.12	0.93	0.74
Caledonia	AAA	1.00	0.50	0.50
Windsor	AAA	0.84	0.48	0.48
Rutland	HH	1.75	0.98	0.44
Windham	AAA	1.59	0.53	0.35
Lamoille	AAA	0.42	0.42	0.00
Orange	AAA	1.24	0.31	0.00
Average		1.73	1.21	0.96

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**Expenditures and Estimated Savings**

*Finding 10. The estimated savings for the study group from June 30, 1997, through October 31, 1998, was between \$423,433 and \$251,583, depending on the types of Medicaid cost included.*

**Background**

Few people question the social benefits of community-based care, but many ask whether community-based care provides an overall cost saving. The answer to this question is open to interpretation; evidence, however, suggests that community care for nursing home Medicaid-eligible persons results in lower Medicaid costs.

In nearly all published studies, the “gold standard” for calculating cost savings under the waiver program is: (amount of avoided nursing home cost) minus (cost of community care). An analysis following this basic methodology was developed to compare the actual cost of the Medicaid waiver services with the Medicaid cost for nursing home care that was potentially avoided by members of the study group during a sixteen-month period. Four months was added to the end of the fiscal year so that a portion of the potential savings from individuals who entered the program late in the fiscal year would be represented.

**Calculating Days Avoided**

The days avoided are days of Medicaid-covered nursing home care that were not needed because of waiver services.<sup>12</sup> They were calculated for the members of the study group by (1) including only individuals who had Medicaid nursing home billing; (2) including only individuals who received MWP services in a community-based setting; and (3) adding up the days after a nursing home discharge until waiver services were terminated or the study ended (October 31,1998).

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	<b>Statewide Average Medicaid Expenditure per Nursing Home Bed Day</b>	
Medicaid Nursing- Home-Days Avoided	\$85.88 <sup>13</sup>	Avoided Expenditures
8,595		\$738,139

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This method for calculating days avoided is very conservative because (1) it ignores the possibility that waiver services in advance of a nursing home admission delayed the need for nursing home placement, and (2) it discounts the possibility that anyone with a source of nursing home payment other than Medicaid might have switched to Medicaid at a later date.

**Calculating Cost**

Determining the actual Medicaid cost of the waiver program is not entirely straightforward. The main question is one of scope and inclusion. For this reason the cost of the Medicaid waiver program for the study group is calculated three different ways. One method measures the cost efficiency of the waiver program during nursing- home-avoided days, another measures the overall cost efficiency of the waiver for the study population, and the last takes into account both direct and indirect Medicaid costs.



**Cost Method 1**

This method uses payments for waiver services only when nursing home bed days are avoided. It measures the basic cost efficiency when the waiver program directly replaced nursing home care. It yields the highest efficiency rate, but its scope is limited because it maximizes the savings by eliminating all cost not directly associated with days avoided. The method is too narrow to be useful except as an indicator of waiver cost versus nursing home cost on a day-to-day basis.

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Nursing Home Cost Potentially Avoided	Payments for MWP Waiver Services Only during nursing home days avoided	Savings in Medical Expenditures During nursing home days avoided
\$738,139	\$157,562	\$580,577

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**Cost Method 2**

The second method of cost calculation includes all payments for waiver services for all members of the study group during the entire study period, July 1, 1997, to October 31, 1998. This method looks at all those who were priority nursing home admissions to the waiver program even if they generated no nursing-home-avoided days. By using the cost for all members of the study group, this method acknowledges that while all Medicaid Waiver Program participants generate waiver expenditures, some of them will not generate savings through avoided nursing home cost.

This method measures the cost efficiency in terms of direct payments for waiver services for the entire nursing home to waiver population and is most in line with established case studies of waiver versus nursing home cost.

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Nursing Home Cost Potentially Avoided	Payments for MWP Waiver Services For the entire study group over the entire study period, July 1, 1997, to October 31, 1998	Savings in Medicaid Expenditures
\$738,139	\$314,706	\$423,433

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**Cost Method 3**

The third method includes all payments to waiver providers for the study group during the entire study period and a correction factor that estimates other Medicaid costs associated with the study group. These costs are claims paid by Medicaid for (1) items and services not normally included in the nursing home per diem or (2) items and services that are not typically included in the service package provided by the Medicaid waiver program.

Including other Medicaid costs is important because they are much higher for the typical waiver recipient than for the typical nursing home resident. This is because many of the other Medicaid-covered expenses used by waiver recipients in the community are included in the cost of nursing home care. An example of another Medicaid expense for a waiver client could be the routine monitoring of vital signs or administering an injectable medication by a home health agency. This same service in a nursing home would be included under the regular per diem charge.

For a waiver recipient, the other Medicaid costs can cover a variety of services and goods including drugs; doctors' visits; short-term nursing home care, emergency care, durable medical equipment, home health and hospital care; other Medicaid cost for nursing home residents would cover everything but home health and durable medical equipment.

The difference in other Medicaid expenditure between waiver recipients and nursing home residents is substantial. During SFY 1998, the average waiver recipient had other Medicaid billing of \$5,088, while the average nursing home resident generated other Medicaid billing of \$1,457. To reflect all Medicaid cost, both the waiver and the nursing-home-avoided expenditures must be adjusted to reflect the increased cost represented by other Medicaid expenses.


	Statewide Average per Individual Served	
	Medicaid Expenses	Other Medicaid Expenses
Waiver	\$7,404	\$5,088
Nursing Home	\$24,218	\$1,457

Corrected Cost for Other Medicaid			
	Payments for Services	Estimated Other Medicaid Cost	Corrected Cost
Waiver	\$314,706	\$216,250	\$530,956
Nursing Home	\$738,139	\$44,400	\$782,539

Savings for Entire Study Group, Including All Medicaid Cost		
Nursing Home Cost Potentially Avoided	Estimated Total Medicaid Cost for Study Group	Total Medicaid Savings
\$782,539	\$530,956	\$251,583

### Recommendations for Further Research

This report found that activities of daily living (ADLs), as measured by the Minimum Data Set 2.0 with its present rules for reassessing individuals, cannot differentiate between the nursing home population and the nursing home to waiver population. New rules requiring more frequent MDS reassessments for some individuals are being implemented, and such rule changes may enhance the ability of the MDS to identify individuals in the nursing home to waiver population by ADLs. Additional research is needed to determine whether ADLs become a significant measure under new rules.

It also found that cognition, continence, RUGS-44 class, and preference for community care were different for the nursing home to waiver population and the general nursing home population. Further research is necessary to determine whether these differences can be used to develop a statistical model that can reliably determine whether an individual is a likely candidate for a community-based Medicaid waiver. 

## Appendix

### Technical Supplement

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#### Part A: Expenditure Methodology

It is widely suggested that Medicaid waivers allow states to avoid Medicaid nursing home cost. A number of studies and demonstration projects have shown savings. Some use broad-based trends while others use case studies of projects providing home and community-based services. There is, however, little concurrence on either models or results.<sup>14</sup> The largest stumbling block in the case study methodology is that the starting points for case studies were individuals in the community, which inevitably led to difficulties in predicting if anyone in the study would be admitted to a nursing home in the future. The difficulty with the broad-based approach is that it is grounded on large-scale historical trends and cannot account for recent changes in the overall health care system.

The methodology chosen for this report is most closely allied with the case study method, but it differs because

1. The sample contains only people who have had nursing home care, which eliminates persons who might receive home and community-based services but would never enter a nursing home.
2. The days-avoided calculation includes only those people who have at least one Medicaid-paid nursing home bill. This limits the cost calculations for Medicaid nursing home costs to only those with proven financial and clinical eligibility for Medicaid nursing home care.

#### **Assumptions**

The model rests on two main assumptions:

1. Medicaid nursing home recipients would have remained in the nursing home throughout their time on Medicaid community-based services. It is important to note that financial and clinical eligibility for Medicaid nursing home care and MWP services are exactly the same. It is also important to note that some individuals in the study group were terminated from MWP Medicaid services because their condition improved and they required less than a nursing home level of care.
2. Medicare recipients who move to Medicaid waivers are likely to be discharged from the nursing home to the community even if home and community-based waivers are not available. Therefore, Medicare recipients are not included in the nursing home bed-days-avoided calculations. This was done to limit the possibility of overcounting the number of nursing-home-avoided days, because of a high rate of discharges (67.6 percent) from nursing home to the community while still covered under Medicare.



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## **Calculating Nursing-Home-Avoided**

### **Bed Days: Days-Avoided Calculation Criteria**

1. To be a candidate for the days avoided calculation, an individual had to have a paid Medicaid nursing home claim.
2. Each individual had to have received substantive Medicaid Waiver Program services in a community setting. This eliminates everyone who received only case management while still in a nursing home.
3. Nursing home days avoided started on the day after a nursing home discharge and continued until waiver services were terminated, or October 31, 1998, whichever came sooner.
4. Some study group members had very short nursing home stays — usually less than ten days — while receiving waiver services. Any days spent in a nursing home during days avoided were subtracted from days avoided.<sup>15</sup>

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### **Part B: Low ADL Case Mix**

Low ADL case mix scores are based on RUGS-44 classification. The RUGS classes include:

1. Rehabilitation High Intensity A
2. Rehabilitation Medium Intensity A
3. Clinically Complex A without Depression
4. Clinically Complex A
5. Impaired Cognition A
6. Impaired Cognition A with NSG Rehabilitation
7. Reduced Physical Function A1

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### **Part C: Minimum Data Set Cognitive Performance Scale**

The Cognitive Performance Scale (CPS) was developed, under a Health Care Financing Administration contract, by John Morris et al., Department of Social Gerontological Research, Hebrew Rehabilitation Center for the Aged, Boston, Massachusetts, to assess a wide range of cognitive functioning using only the variables collected by the Minimum Data Set (MDS). The CPS was designed to replace two separate tests of cognitive functioning used in nursing homes, namely, the Mini Mental Status Exam and the Test for Severe Impairment.

The CPS is based on an interaction of five variables found on the MDS.

1. Is patient comatose? Yes/No
2. Short-term memory? OK/Not OK
3. Decision making — Range from independent to severely impaired

4. Making self understood — Range from understood to never understood
5. Eating — Range from independent to total dependence

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## Notes

1. For the purposes of this report, no distinction is made between users of the Enhanced Residential Care Medicaid Waiver and the Home and Community-Based Services Medicaid Waiver. Both are referred to as Medicaid Waiver Programs.
2. In 1997, a first-come, first-served system was replaced by a priority-based system that grants admission to the Medicaid Waiver Program to persons determined to have the highest risk of institutionalization.
3. The study group sample size occasionally goes below ninety because of restrictions on specific data elements. This is noted when the number falls significantly.
4. The source for the activities of daily living data for the study group and for the control group is the Minimum Data Set (MDS). The source for the ADL study group in the community is the Independent Living Assessment (ILA) contained in the Service Accounting and Management System (SAMS). Caution should be used when comparing SAMS and MDS information because (1) different instruments are used; (2) the instruments are used in different care settings; (3) different care settings may have different expectations; (4) there are issues of inter-rater reliability on the ILA; and (5) there is an extended time period between MDS and ILA assessment, which may account for different results owing to changes in health status.
5. The criteria for continence in this analysis are bladder incontinence less than daily and bowel incontinence once a week or less.
6. For more information see the Appendix, Technical Supplement, Part C.
7. Low ADL case mix categories are listed in the Appendix, Technical Supplement, Part B.
8. ADLs as measured by the MDS in Vermont.
9. It should be noted that it is possible for some individuals to be overcounted as receiving waiver services prior to their last nursing home admission when their nursing home claim is part of their care under the waiver. This is because the data do not differentiate between those who receive non-waiver-related nursing home care and those who receive nursing home care while on the waiver.
10. Based on Medicaid claims data and MDS question Q1b.
11. MDS question Q1a.
12. For a more detailed explanation of cost and expenditure calculations, see the Appendix, Technical Supplement, Part A.
13. The estimated average cost for a Medicaid nursing home bed day, \$85.88 in SFY 1998, excludes any patient share and liability.
14. Susan C. Hedrick and T. S. Inui, "The Effectiveness and Cost of Home Care: An Information Synthesis," *Health Services Research* 20 (1986); the Lewin Group, "Estimated Cost Savings from the Use of Home and Community-Based Alternatives to Nursing Facility Care in Three States" (Washington, D.C.: AARP, Public Policy Institute, 1996).
15. The primary data source for these calculations was Medicaid claims records from July 1, 1997, to October 31, 1998. Four months were added to the state fiscal year to capture information on individuals who entered the Medicaid Waiver Program late in the fiscal year.





# Spirituality and Rehabilitation

# Intimate Views from Insiders

Dierdre Woody

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*The author became interested in spirituality and rehabilitation during her summer 1999 employment at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute–Graterford and as a legal intern in the law firm of Woody and Falkenbach, which specializes in criminal defense work, during the summers of 1991 to 1998. The article focuses on the role of spirituality in rehabilitation processes in correctional settings. It pays special attention to the sources of faith and inner strength, the nature of spiritual guidance, the roles of values, beliefs, and moral commitments, and the effects of cultural, social, political, and economic forces.*

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My study investigated human behavior in its individual and social contexts, with an emphasis on spiritual values in rehabilitation programs to effect positive social reentry. I also examined the motivational role of religious values, beliefs, and obligations for individuals who have committed crimes (“sinned”), been incarcerated (“punished”), are going through some form of rehabilitation (“doing penance and redemption”), and hope to regain their freedom and become an integral part of society (“transformation and liberation”). I concentrated on the normative dimension of personal identity, including the sources of faith and inner strength, the nature of the spiritual guidance that provides meaning and structure to one’s life, the mediating effects of cultural, social, political, and economic forces, and the resources to which inmates turn during their darkest hours.

I also surveyed the interrelationship between personal rehabilitation and transformation and the belief in God or another transcendent force. I explored the hypothesis that there is a correlation between deeply held moral convictions, faith, and hope and the likelihood for recovery, rehabilitation, and release. While it may not be causative, a positive correlation between commitment to spiritual values and practices and positive personal transformation has implications for the presence and the role of faith-based institutions in prevention, recovery, and release. Through in-depth interviews, I explored the degree to which privately held beliefs help a person maintain a moral map or compass that helps one transform oneself into a productive member of society, and the ways in which faith-based initiatives, within and outside prison walls, help to make this transpire.

I inquired into the hypothesis that most rehabilitative programs or processes neglect the realm of human experience as it relates to the role of spiritual or religious beliefs in the transformation of the lives of those in bondage. The traditional emphasis of rehabilitative programs concentrates on the use of psychological tools of behavior modification or remedial education rather than on the underlying problem of spiritual malaise or alienation.

*Dierdre Woody, a marketing and management student at Babson College, expects to receive a B.S. in business administration in May 2000.*

Thinking about religion outside a place of worship opens an array of questions about the role of religion in helping prisoners reestablish meaning and value in their broken lives. This investigation sought to understand the architecture of conscience and character as designed by each of the individuals I interviewed, even if they had rejected formal religious ties but characterized themselves as believers.

I show how prison management is not inclined to embrace the “sacred” in prison life, but if steps were taken to include spirituality in rehabilitation practices there would be many beneficial results, including a decrease in spending per inmate, a decrease in the recidivism rate, and an increase in the efficiency of rehabilitation methods. I also cover the importance and availability of educational programs and work opportunities to increase self-worth and lighten the load for correctional officers. Even though the incorporation of faith-based initiatives is minimal in the majority of penal institutions, there are successful endeavors, such as the Ten Point Coalition in the Boston area and initiatives at Chester County Prison, Pennsylvania, that either directly approach the healing power that comes from religion or incorporate the idea of a higher power to bring about personal change and rehabilitation.

I also touch on the implications for practice in terms of public policy and show the positive effects of how existing efforts to invest in human capital can be fortified by investing in spiritual capital as well. I point out that education is needed not only for inmates, but for the staff that works with them as well. Finally, I address the beneficial effects to society of the privatization of state-run services and those involved in the treatment.

The personal stories I gathered, taken as a whole, yield certain themes and traits that relate to patterns of meaning and value. Whether they are rooted in religious laws and practices or one’s devotion to a personal code of conduct, I hope to shed light on the way personal theological convictions affect personal recovery, rehabilitation, and release. I supplemented my interviews with information about faith-based initiatives aimed at similar goals in Boston, New York, Graterford, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. The results of this study lead to constructive recommendations for incorporating the faith dimension in this work or increasing initiatives already in place, thus broadening the definition of psychological intervention to address this normative realm.

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## **Life Behind Bars**

“In prisons everything is cold, gray, alien, anonymous, brutal and noisy. Life stops: dreams stop.”<sup>1</sup> The walls surrounding the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute at Graterford (SCI-G) rise an ominous thirty feet into the air and descend thirty feet into the ground. They are reinforced by steel poles built inside the walls. Needless to say, no one can try to dig his way out, and if a prisoner were to drive a tank into the wall, the tank would be ruined. These gloomy walls shield the sun from entering the few small windows that line the corridors and cells.

SCI-G employs approximately 1,000 staff members and houses 3,500 inmates. Of this number, roughly 500 men are there for life, while about 50 are on death row. Graterford Prison is “the largest maximum security facility in Pennsylvania and the sixth-largest in the country.”<sup>2</sup> Almost all these men have served a significant portion of their lives in jail and are desperately looking for some type of redemption that will ultimately lead to their release, whether it be a literal release from the confining walls or a spiritual release to the healing powers of a higher spiritual being. “Prisons are places permeated with exile and



overwhelmed with frustrations, where everything seems calculated to make inmates lose heart.”<sup>3</sup> Here, where all hope seems lost, “faith and spirituality are sources of strength and endurance”<sup>4</sup> and the chaplain becomes “the number one department that can and does change the inmate’s life.”<sup>5</sup>

In the summer of 1999, I worked at Graterford in the Recidivism Reduction Department of CiviGenics, Inc., a unique management company that deals with the privatization of public enterprise services. It has numerous branches in many areas in twenty-two states that specialize in the custody and rehabilitation of criminal justice populations. At SCI-G, CiviGenics provides inmates with residential treatment in the sixty-bed Correctional Recovery Academy (CRA), with closely case-managed aftercare services and tracking in the community following release. Both components are performed under contract with the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections.<sup>6</sup>

The CRA, within the Recidivism Reduction Department, is a comprehensive instructional program that is the criminogenic equivalent of addiction recovery.<sup>7</sup> I was a counselor’s aide in its Residential Substance Abuse Treatment (RSAT) program, which had sixty inmates, most of a low social status background with an extremely limited educational and economic background. We worked in the cell block where our clients were housed. All clients are parole violators who have a history of substance abuse and addictive behavior. Phase One (of three phases), of the RSAT program takes place during the last six months of each inmate’s prison sentence. On graduation, the clients are released to a halfway house (Phase Two) for six months, which is followed by release into the community where they will participate in further aftercare services (Phase Three).

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## **Influential Voices**

Over the summer I conducted interviews with a number of people who can be placed in two groups. My core group consisted of those who were either presently or previously incarcerated. The thirteen participants in that group can be placed in four subgroups, made up as follows: group A — those incarcerated for life sentences (three); B — those currently in the RSAT program (four); C — those who successfully completed the RSAT program and were released but violated their parole and were returned to SCI-G (three); and D — those who had spent time in prison yet were relatively successful in reentering society on release (three). My questions to the core group centered on their sources of faith and inner strength, the nature of the spiritual guidance that provides meaning and structure to one’s life, the mediating effects of cultural, social, and political economic forces, and the resources inmates turn to in their darkest hours.

My second group of interviewees was comprised of chaplains from Graterford Prison, Chester County Prison, and Boston, individuals who work for CiviGenics, Inc., lawyers and a judge from Delaware County, Pennsylvania, the deputy wardens at Chester County Prison, a sergeant from the Massachusetts State Correctional Institute — Walpole, and a correctional officer from SCI-G. My questions to them concerned their interpretation of religious faith and spirituality and the role they play, constructive steps to be taken to incorporate faith-based initiatives in existing practices, and the current models of practice with which they were familiar.

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## Prison Management

The majority of programs and work opportunities offered in prisons around the country are controlled by and receive funding from the states. More than 1.8 million men and women are incarcerated in the United States, according to the figures calculated by the Bureau of Justice Statistics.<sup>8</sup> Of the country's 1,178,978 state prisoners, 35,860 men and women are housed in Pennsylvania's state prisons, as of July 31, 1999.<sup>9,10</sup> Under existing practice, the state is unable to help all who are looking for work or rehabilitation while in prison. Furthermore, many correctional institutions are less concerned with rehabilitating prisoners than they are with punishing criminals. The Reverend Henry G. Covert, chaplain at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute at Rockview, points out, in *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, "The idea that prisons are for punishment only reflects an ignorant and archaic approach to corrections that returns unchanged people to society."<sup>11</sup>

I believe that it is possible to improve on the current programs by strengthening and adding to the systems already in place, therefore generating a greater number of beneficial results in the long run. The Reverend Covert believes,

Prisons should try to change lives through techniques that direct inmate energy toward productive ends and improve self-esteem by encouraging offenders to change their attitudes and begin a new life. The objective of prisons should be to prepare residents for productive lives that begin within the institution. Positive results can come through incentives, pertinent programs, and concerned staff.<sup>12</sup>

These positive results will effect a decrease in monetary spending per inmate, a reduction in the recidivism rate, and an overall increased effectiveness rate of rehabilitation programs.

The annual cost per inmate is approximately \$23,776.00 at Pennsylvania's state prisons.<sup>13</sup> In 1998, the United States sent roughly 672 of every 100,000 persons to jail, a figure higher than that of any country except Russia.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, national statistics tell us that about three out of every four inmates, once released, return to a life of crime and ultimately to jail.<sup>15</sup> Even though crime rates have been decreasing since 1993, the prison population has continued to rise owing to longer prison sentences, curtailment of parole, and a 39 percent increase in the number of parole violators.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, as the recidivism rate increases, additional money must be spent on inmates to ensure basic safety and physiological needs. These basic biological needs, as stated by Abraham Maslow, include food, shelter, water, comfort, order, security, stability, and safety. A person must fulfill certain needs before one can truly accept oneself and experience inner peace, thereby completing personal transformation successfully.

Above the basic biological needs, a person must also fulfill his or her social needs (closeness, belonging, love) and esteem needs (recognition, respect, rewards) before reaching self-actualization.<sup>17</sup> This type of positive, healing environment can be emphasized within prisons through the support and acceptance of rehabilitative programs that focus on self-esteem measures and therapeutic communities that have a direct involvement with a church. Covert sums it up.

The church has a major role in correctional facilities, and its presence is vital to every inmate. It has a positive impact on these troubled communities, whether it is through the continuous visibility of the chapel or inmates interacting with a chaplain or Christian peers. Regardless of religious beliefs, the majority of felons view the church as a necessary and comforting presence.<sup>18</sup>

The Reverend Roland Robinson of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston points out that religious faith and spirituality within the context of prison life, rehabilitation, and social reentry play an important role in three primary forms. Religious faith and spirituality offer a ray of hope, moral guidance and discipline, and a road to reconciliation for those existing and living in difficult circumstances.<sup>19</sup>

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## Rehabilitation Efforts

An array of programs is needed to help build on the character and self-esteem of inmates, address the root of their problems, and encourage productive growth. Some of these include self-help programs designed to modify behavior and understand oneself, address stress and anger management, introduce goals, encourage new growth, and assist in peer encounters, family counseling, and parole preparation. Some of these programs exist in a few institutions in Pennsylvania partly attributable to the capabilities and initiatives of both the inmates and the chaplains.<sup>20</sup> However, an increase in programs similar to those in correctional institutions around the country would benefit not only the inmates involved in working toward a life free from addictive and criminal behaviors, but would also be beneficial for the prisons and prison management, the state, and ultimately the public. As more inmates become involved in programs to better themselves, correctional officers would have an easier time protecting the safety of the facility, because inmates would be kept busy and have less idle time to get into trouble. In the long run, the state would eventually spend less money per individual because the recidivism rate would decrease. The public would also be affected because its tax dollars would be spent more usefully while individuals who have genuinely been rehabilitated would be returned to society to become productive members in the community. It is important for the church to play an integral role in these advances because, as Covert tells us, “Christ’s mission is to bring peace, ‘to give light to those who sit in darkness’” (St. Luke 1:79). Peace from the turmoil of sinful living becomes a reality through God’s forgiveness. Peace with God and others brings an inner calm and provides us with the resources to work through our trials.<sup>21</sup>

Inmates’ other needs must be addressed as well. Many inmates consider the single most important factor in rehabilitation is education. Interviewees who participated in CiviGenics’s Residential Substance Abuse Treatment program at SCI-G mentioned that “education is the key,” which will ultimately be extremely beneficial in the long run. One inmate pointed out that people who are not educated just sit around and lift weights, becoming stronger, but as they increase their physical strength, their mind becomes more feeble, and they eventually fall back into old criminal behaviors. It was further noted that education has to go beyond classroom fundamentals to the basic religious principles common to all religions.<sup>22</sup> Stephen L. Carter, in *Integrity*, supports this theory when he says, “Even if the knowledge of good and evil is innate, perhaps God-given — the ability to discover that inner knowledge is developed only through education.”<sup>23</sup> He continues to elaborate on the positive impacts of the education of basic religious principles when he argues, “Some very basic values — the Golden Rule, for example, and an ethic of loving one’s neighbor — are common to every major American religious group. If we cannot agree on such basic truths as these, we will in years to come be unable to resolve the moral crisis threatening our nation.”<sup>24</sup>

To begin the education process, teachers must meet the students at their own level. In prison settings, unfortunately, a large majority of the population has never completed



secondary schooling. In these cases, we must first address the lack of such fundamental skills as illiteracy. The most common education courses help many inmates receive a general equivalency diploma. At the Bucks County Correctional Facility, Pennsylvania, the goal of the adult education programs is to "bolster inmates' self-esteem and prepare them for productive lives after prison."<sup>25</sup>

After inmates have mastered basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills, they are most in need of some type of further education or marketable skill that will help them after release. Until 1996, Pennsylvania inmates were eligible to receive Pell Grants, or student loans, from local colleges and universities. This enabled them to go to school while in jail and receive a degree from such local universities as Villanova or Pennsylvania State. Unfortunately, these grants were eliminated when funds were cut. Inmates can still take college-level courses while in jail, but they must pay for them. Needless to say, there has been a significant decrease in the number of participants in this program since the Pell Grants disappeared.<sup>26</sup>

SCI-Graterford inmates are responsible for maintenance (including painting), kitchen duty, the barber shop, the wood shop, tailoring traditional Department of Correction clothing, gardening, and office work. From 1929 until the beginning of summer 1999, inmates were able to work the 1,714 acres of farmland that surround the prison; early in June, however, all the cattle and dairy cows were auctioned off. The state plans to lease the farmland reservation in the spring of 2000. The state also closed two other agricultural operations, at Huntington Prison and Rockview Prison, with expectations of saving approximately \$2 million a year.<sup>27</sup> While many of the skills that inmates are being taught through their jobs will be useful when they are released, there are not enough classes and jobs available to make a significant impact on the entire population. Furthermore, many of the jobs discriminate against lifers, whose participation is restricted to a minimal amount of responsibility — the wood shop, the kitchen, and maintenance — no matter what their security level.<sup>28</sup> Covert points out that "lifers also need programs that confront idleness, improve self-worth, and contribute to development"; unfortunately, "they are not priority candidates for academic and job skills training."<sup>29</sup>

One promising avenue that prisons may turn toward in the future, to provide more jobs for inmates and benefit corporate America simultaneously, is being explored by Federal Prison Industries (FPI), a self-supporting branch of the Justice Department. FPI's goal is to employ at least 20 percent of the eligible federal inmates by bringing private industries into prisons. Although there is strong controversy, FPI continues to "establish prison factories to produce goods for the federal government" in both Texas and Florida. Rather than taking jobs from the public sector, FPI focuses on industries that traditionally use labor from other countries or on industries whose labor is often done by machines. Some jobs being performed by prisoners include data-entry operations for used-vehicle sales, coupon sorting, packaging, sanding and planing for a furniture factory, repairing mail satchels, and producing items such as clothing, mattresses, bricks, brooms, thermoplastics, and printed circuits.<sup>30</sup>

While a primary focus of prisons is understandably to maintain the safety and security of all inside, adding more educational programs and work opportunities would only help decrease the idle time of the prisoners, resulting in fewer opportunities for them to get into trouble while increasing self-worth. Another challenge that our prisons face is staff employment. Many may think it impossible to employ a staff that can successfully operate a vast amount of programs. However, there are numerous options for prison management to explore. The most obvious option would be to turn to populations that already

have some of these programs in place: the chaplains and the inmates. Prison chaplains, who can act as intermediaries between the prison and the community, are the best spokesmen to set up lasting relationships and promote involvement.<sup>31</sup> Many small community churches are increasingly becoming involved in prison activities, because they recognize that "in extreme places . . . we can find astonishing resources of strength."<sup>32</sup>

Another avenue would be to address the inmates themselves. Many prisoners run programs for their peers, because they understand the importance of education and rehabilitation.<sup>33</sup> Not only does this involvement help strengthen therapeutic atmospheres, it promotes trust between inmates, gives them other resources to turn to during difficult times, and most important, provides inmates with opportunities to participate in charitable activities. Dan Armstrong, president of the Delaware County Association for Criminal Defense Lawyers, pointed out that when inmates take leadership or counseling roles within the institution, it allows them to have a positive influence on younger, more vulnerable inmates.<sup>34</sup> For many, charity is a form of purifying the heart, another opportunity for them to show their obedience to their higher power.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, inmates best understand their strengths and weaknesses, and know best what their peers need to be successfully released into and become productive members of society. Covert stresses the need for and positive impact of these activities when he says, "Education and training improves the quality of life for prisoners. Inmates who engage in self-improvement activities not only help themselves but also are more likely to assist their peers."<sup>36</sup>

This leads to the conclusion that as rehabilitation programs become more defined and instrumental in aiding inmates, and as the opportunity to participate in these types of educational and personal transformation programs increases, the overall positive effect will lead to a decrease in the recidivism rate and, therefore, less money will be spent per individual in the long run. The heightened control in our institutions will also be affected, because a greater number of inmates will participate in self-help, educational, and work programs and will therefore have less idle time to get themselves into trouble. Finally, and most important, therapeutic environments that concentrate on the power of a higher being than oneself will help inmates fulfill their social and esteem needs, lead to effective rehabilitation methods, and encourage them to become beneficial members in the community upon release.

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### **Voices from the Front**

My core group played a pivotal role in this study. They introduced me to the pains of prison life, the often dreary background that led them there, their expectations for the future, and what is being done to help and rehabilitate them. From their answers, I formulated my questions for the secondary group. Without their help, my effort would have been fruitless, so I thank them all wholeheartedly.

There were three primary areas of focus for my questions: the spiritual source of their faith, in terms of inner strength, morals, and values; a personal assessment of their journey to recovery, including, particularly, observations about their past and childhood, and their current and future goals and hopes, including internal conflict and struggle, as well as personal growth; and constructive thoughts on future growth, in terms of community development, personal goals and hurdles, and advice to policymakers and other inmates.

The four subgroups of the core group consisted of three men who are serving life sentences (Group A); four clients of RSAT (Group B); three past RSAT clients who were returned to SCI-G for parole violations (Group C); and three men who had spent time in

prison earlier in their lives, but are living and doing well in the community (Group D). All the interviews were conducted during July 1999, at either the State Correctional Institute–Graterford or at a designated location in Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

These interviews were extremely important and powerful. Many of the men had never been confronted with questions of this type, so they were forced to take a deeper look into their personal convictions, leading to a stronger understanding of themselves. It also gave others a chance to express beliefs they had formed over the course of their lives and time spent in jail. Many thought they had valuable opinions and insights to share, but no one had ever thought it was useful to take the time to explore their views.

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### **Personal Theologies**

When asked how they would like to be remembered when they die, respondent C-1 summed up the majority of the inmates' answers when he said he would like to be remembered as a person who "suffered from emotional, financial, and domestic strife because of poor decision making, but continued to strive toward . . . betterment for myself, loved ones, and communities at large."<sup>37</sup> Another inmate, who was sentenced to life at age sixteen and has since been blessed as an Imam, a spiritual or divinely appointed leader of the Sunni Islamic faith,<sup>38</sup> made the persuasive point that "it is what you do that counts; how you are remembered isn't important."<sup>39</sup>

Members of the core group expressed a variety of religious beliefs. Two of the lifers, all those in Group C, and one man in the RSAT program followed the Sunni Islamic faith. Three interviewees characterized themselves as Christians. I also interviewed one Baptist, one Catholic — both in Group D, and one Jewish man from the RSAT program. Finally, one person in the RSAT program characterized his source of faith and spiritual guidance as coming from a "belief in a higher power," without specifically referencing a faith tradition.<sup>40</sup>

The solidarity of their faith ranged from "as solid as the Rock of Gibraltar"<sup>41</sup> and "as solid as the natural elements here on earth"<sup>42</sup> to the continuous practice for the sake of his children,<sup>43</sup> and not something that helped him get through the difficult times, even though he wished he could say it did.<sup>44</sup> All the Moslem men were very precise about how they replenished their faith: the ritual prayer (five times a day), daily study and reading from the Holy Qur'an, fasting, charity, kindness, and helping others. The non-Moslems said that they replenish their faith primarily through prayer and reading from the Holy Book. During difficult times they turn toward religion as well as their family and friends. One man, respondent D-2, turned solely to his lawyer, Dennis Woody, during difficult times.<sup>45</sup> Steve Schucraft and Dennis Woody, criminal defense attorneys, both consider that their role goes beyond representation to being a friend and confidant, because in many cases offenders have been abandoned by their family and friends. They believe that it is part of their role to steer offenders in the right direction whether toward entering rehabilitation programs or working toward setting goals.<sup>46</sup>

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### **Causes of Crime**

A number of different factors played a part in leading these men toward criminal activities. The primary reason given was that the environment in which they grew up was infiltrated by high crime, drugs, and prostitution, a place where gangs were the dominant force on the street. The Imam tried to relay the fear that went hand in hand with living in



this type of area. He said that he was “scared to death of those individuals who were gangsters and into drugs,” that this type of fear is indescribable and can motivate people to respond in different ways. Other contributing factors cited by inmates include abusive households, gambling, drug abuse, the absence of community-based opportunities to participate in constructive activities, faulty personal decision-making skills, the need for acceptance, and the constant exposure to violence on television.

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## Change Agents

To bring about personal change, six of the ten in groups A, B, and C — five of whom are Moslem — all mentioned that their belief in a higher power and getting in touch with their inner self were major contributors. Others in these groups noted that the process of growing up and becoming more mature, addressing the areas of concern in their lives, and learning skills that helped them improve their sense of self-worth and value all played a part in their personal growth. All the men in Group D believed that the support from and the time spent away from their families and children were major factors in helping them to grow.

When asked if society could have done something to intervene and provide guidance when they were younger, half of the respondents stressed the need for more community involvement with youth. They pointed to the importance of organizing activities in order to keep kids from getting themselves into trouble and the terrible danger posed by lack of knowledge and resources available. A few others remarked that society was not at fault, that society “did all they could do, it was all me.”<sup>47</sup> Some said that they had made up their minds not to listen to anyone else, thereby setting themselves up for failure rather than success. Two individuals believed that they were missing the spirituality component in their lives and said that this should be stressed more in trying to intervene with young people.<sup>48</sup>

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## Future Hopes

When peering into their future, all were generally optimistic and most respondents thought that it looked bright as long as they stayed focused on their goals and surrounded themselves with positive people who strive for positive change. Two of the most devout Moslems, the Imam and respondent B-2, said, “No one knows what the future will bring” and “I live as if there won’t be a tomorrow, because I don’t know what the future holds.”<sup>49</sup> This absence of temporality is a core belief that is taught in the Islamic religion. The Catholic man, who has done life on the “installment plan” for twenty-three of his fifty-two years, told me that he does not plan for his future, because if he did and things did not go as planned, his self-esteem would plummet. He said he is most concerned with building his life day by day, and “if I do this, then I’ll have a future.”

Each man expressed different fears and obstacles that he must overcome to reach his goal. Generally, fears were minimal and in some cases viewed in a beneficial light. The lifers were afraid of never being granted clemency and not being able “to experience life”<sup>50</sup> or to satisfy “those who can influence the situation.”<sup>51</sup> The men in the RSAT program feared falling back into old drug and alcohol habits, public ridicule, and “putting other things in front of my recovery and messing up again.”<sup>52</sup> The Group C men also feared slipping into drug and alcohol habits again, and respondent C-2 fears the unknown

— going back into society and holding down a job, a task in which he had never succeeded — but at the same time he looks forward to it. The fears of the Group D men are minimal — taxes, finances, and holding down a stable job. They have come to understand that as long as they take things day by day and stay focused and on track everything will fall into place for them.

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### **Advice about Life Inside to the World Outside**

In giving advice to policymakers, peers, children, and society in general, all the lifers pleaded for those in positions of power to be open-minded and to deal with the incarcerated on a case-by-case basis. They said that if each person's characteristics are not looked at, they will continuously be victimized by the system. Roughly three-quarters of all thirteen interviewed indicated that their primary advice centered around advocating for providing information about and incorporating the principles of religion into all areas of one's life. The Islamic Imam would tell his peers that there are three things one can do while in jail: get better, remain the same, and get worse. He and others affirmed their belief that one must take the initiative to help oneself and not fall victim to the destructive environment of prison life.

My last question concerned what inmates would recommend to strengthen the morals, purpose, and dignity of other inmates. All believed that any and all types of self-help programs are beneficial. These programs must concentrate on educating the inmates on issues, like jobs and goal setting, they will face once they are released, and how to overcome their addictions, whether they be drugs and alcohol or simply criminal behavior. The major problem of current programs is that they are not sufficiently accessible. The limited number of programs makes it impossible to cover all the essential components of which inmates have to be aware to accomplish rehabilitation.

The other major factor respondents said would help increase inmates' self-worth is the opportunity to hold a job while in prison. The major stumbling blocks here include, again, few employment outlets, but more important, inmates cannot earn more than 42 cents an hour. Such "slave wages," say the inmates, tear away at one's self-worth. Furthermore, those who are able to work inside the prison in kitchen duty, maintenance, tailoring, clerical duties, or the wood shop cannot participate in any self-help program because all of them are offered during the day when the men must be at work.

Respondent B-4 told a story he referred to as "The Bull in the China Shop" to express his thoughts for helping inmates. A bull walked into a beautiful store filled with rare china and beautiful glass. Unfortunately, the bull was unable to appreciate what was around him, because he did not know any better. He therefore went around the store breaking everything in his path, because he did not understand the effects of his actions. The inmate compared men in prison to the bull, and the beautiful china shop to the world around us — outside the prison walls. He said that like the bull, many inmates do not understand the repercussions of their destructive behavior because they have not been educated about the unlimited opportunities available to them when they attained the desire and ambition to reach their goals. Therefore, unless they are educated, many men continue their destructive behavior simply because they are unaware of their surroundings and feel trapped. However, if they were educated, they would be liberated and in a better position to take a step back and look at the effects of their actions and learn to appreciate their surroundings.

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## Spirituality: The Root Source of Change

As previously noted, faith-based institutions play an integral role in prison life, rehabilitation, and social reentry. The Reverend Alex Hurt, a board member of the Ten Point Coalition and the founder of Breaking the Chains, a prison release program, considers the role of religious faith and spirituality absolutely essential as the single most important variable in reducing the recidivism rate, for religion gives inmates a higher sense of meaning about life and work.<sup>53</sup> Barbara Walrath, mid-Atlantic regional director, CiviGenics, Inc., and former deputy warden of Delaware County Prison, Pennsylvania, believes that many acquire clarity during incarceration, which enables them to grasp new ideas and helps bring about personal change.<sup>54</sup>

Unfortunately, at SCI-G and many other correctional facilities, the institution thinks not in terms of spirituality but of "intervention, security, and disciplinary action."<sup>55</sup> More often than not, chaplains are called in as a last resort. For example, an SCI-G inmate refused dialysis treatment for religious reasons. In accordance with a new policy, the man and his case were reviewed by the medical staff and by a number of psychologists. Sadly, none of them could convince him to continue the dialysis treatment, even though he would certainly die without it. Even more distressing is that, in accordance with a new policy for cases like these, chaplains are to be included only when a man dies. Finally, in desperation, a nurse decided to call on the chaplain for help. Within five minutes of talking with the inmate, the chaplain understood where the man was coming from: he had decided that because he had made his peace with God, he no longer needed dialysis. After his talk with the chaplain, the inmate decided to continue the dialysis treatment.<sup>56</sup>

Mary Dougherty-Hunt, director of Juvenile Day Reporting Services, CiviGenics, and John Kenny, RSAT counselor, CiviGenics, both agree that the major problem with incorporating religion and spirituality into many of the existing rehabilitative programs is that many counselors do not want to press their own ideas of religion on others or do not feel comfortable with their own spirituality.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, Mary Rose Worthington, director of Juvenile Justice Services at CiviGenics, former director of RSAT at SCI-G, and former executive director of Sleighton School, Pennsylvania, a residential school for delinquent and dependent teenagers, noted that because it receives funding from the state, CiviGenics is able to provide only the opportunity for people to express their faith since its personnel are not spiritual therapists. It was further noted that the American Civil Liberties Union has done a tremendous amount in the recent years to demand the opportunity for inmates to express and practice their faith, regardless of their preferred religion.<sup>58</sup> John Kenny and Amy Pouchet, also a CiviGenics RSAT counselor, do not believe that they could further integrate spirituality into their program for the simple reasons that many inmates want nothing to do with religion; were the counselors to introduce additional spirituality, they would risk being charged with forcing their religious views on others.<sup>59</sup>

This is not to say that spirituality plays no part. The idea that one should be guided by one's higher power is reinforced in the philosophy of the Correctional Recovery Academy, which emphasizes constructive ways to bring about personal change, and by the counselors. The latter may also refer inmates to the chaplain and excuse them from group meetings to attend weekly services.<sup>60</sup> Representatives of both Narcotics Anonymous and Alcoholics Anonymous, whose cornerstone is spirituality, come weekly to speak with the men about practicing the twelve steps of AA in all aspects of their lives. "AA, through [its] twelve-step program, promotes a personal spirituality which fills the void that so



many alcoholics and caregivers talk about.”<sup>61</sup> AA has an outstanding record, both qualitatively and quantitatively, partially attributable to a recognition that alcoholism is a spiritual disease. Jim Kyle, an alcohol and clinical manager for the Addictions Recovery program at Friends Hospital, says, “Spirituality connects you with the rest of humanity . . . I just don’t have a connection between myself and the rest of the world. Spirituality, in my estimation, makes that connection.”<sup>62</sup>

Many correctional personnel have found that religion can play a purely therapeutic role rather than solely a transcendent philosophy. Covert explains why prisoners have a strong tendency to relate to Jesus Christ:

They follow the events that occurred after our Lord’s arrest and, although his imprisonment was brief, they see that Christ is like them. Prisoners are drawn to a God who can truly identify with their plight. They can relate to a savior who understands their feelings of isolation and abandonment. Inmates gravitate toward Jesus because he knows the pain of being misunderstood, rejected by humanity, and seemingly forgotten by God.<sup>63</sup>

Numerous inmates said they found increased fulfillment in life and an easier road to rehabilitation and personal change once they understood and accepted their religion. An inmate who had successfully completed the RSAT program but who had been returned to SCI-G for a parole violation, told me that the greatest source in helping him to overcome his fears is his religion, Islam.<sup>64</sup> Another man, who has done life on the “installment plan” but rejoined and has been living successfully in the community for the past five years, said that as he becomes closer to God, the quality of his life increases. He also feels withdrawn when he doesn’t experience this closeness to God: “When I screw up, especially with drug and alcohol use, I don’t feel connected like I normally do.”<sup>65</sup> The Imam with whom I spoke said that during his most difficult times he turns to supplication, praying to the Creator for assistance, understanding that what can be changed will be changed. He believes that Allah will not place on any individual a burden the person will not have the strength to endure; he therefore accepts the fate that he may remain at Graterford for the rest of his life.<sup>66</sup>

Thomas Rapone, chief operating officer of CiviGenics, believes that religion plays as large a role in rehabilitation as treatment, training, programming, and psychological intervention and must be part of a total plan integrated across the board to reduce criminal recidivism. He emphasized that religion “absolutely needs to play a more advanced role,” including intervention measures taken prior to arrest, during incarceration, and in after-care services. Rapone, who has been involved in all facets of the before, during, and after of criminal justice work, pointed out that religious involvement was “absolutely missing in the seventies, eighties, and nineties” and is only now gaining more acceptance. Numerous successful endeavors in each area, which are a tremendous help to those involved, are not widespread enough to help the entire criminal population. He believes that there has to be a way to measure the involvement of faith-based institutions. If there were a way to qualify and quantify the results and track these records, more people would pay attention to such initiatives. “People want to and need to see results.”<sup>67</sup>

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## Models of Practice

### *The Ten Point Coalition*

In considering the effectiveness of faith-based coalitions designed to intervene and target at-risk individuals prior to arrest, Rapone, who was secretary of public safety for the

commonwealth of Massachusetts, noted that the Ten Point Coalition in Boston is “probably one of, if not the most, successful religious coalitions involved in this whole area of rehabilitation . . . and is responsible for a large reduction of juvenile crime in Boston.”<sup>68</sup> Its mission statement describes it as “an ecumenical group of Christian clergy and lay leaders working to mobilize the Christian community around issues affecting black youth — especially those at risk for violence, drug abuse, and other destructive behaviors.”<sup>69</sup> This coalition among Boston’s churches, police department, communities, and businesses describes the goal as “[mobilizing] churches to begin a comprehensive approach to addressing the spiritual, economic, and cultural needs of the broader community.”<sup>70</sup> The focus of its involvement and programs is directed to ten specific areas:

1. Gang intervention programs;
2. Court advocacy programs;
3. Urban missionary programs;
4. School partnership programs;
5. Downtown and suburban church linkages to inner-city ministries;
6. Initiation of and support for neighborhood crime watches;
7. Community health center partnerships;
8. Establishment of Christian brotherhoods;
9. Counseling and other services to address domestic abuse;
10. Development of church-based black and Latino history curricula.<sup>71</sup>

The Ten Point Coalition is determined to have a positive effect on inner-city youth by providing morals and guidance through religious convictions. When asked what society could have done to intervene and provide guidance when they were younger, a number of the core group of current and former inmates referred to greater community and church involvement as helping them gain opportunities that would not otherwise have been available. Respondent D-3, who has spent over half of his life in jail but is doing well, mentioned that when he was a kid, the church was very important. A child’s early years are most important in defining character and conscience, and the stronger the church presence, the less likely it will be for him or her to have problems later. “I really think that spirituality and guidance is the answer.”<sup>72</sup>

Others cited a major absence of community involvement where they grew up. The Imam described his situation as coming from a broken home in the ghetto. He was never approached or had the opportunity to be part of the Boy Scouts or participate in activities like swimming or fishing. Such activities were not part of his environment, where gangs were very influential and no one in his schools paid attention; no attempt was made to provide guidance in values and morals.<sup>73</sup>

There is an obvious need to strengthen our nation’s morals and values, so evident in the blatant and random acts of violence occurring in our schools and communities. Probably the most extreme case, with the most media coverage, was the April 20, 1999, incident at Columbine High School in Colorado, where two students killed thirteen and injured twenty-three others before killing themselves. Yet countless people may think that this type of mayhem will never happen in their town. However, Robert Vernon, retired assistant chief of police, Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and head of the Pointman Leadership Institute, pointed out, in his *L.A. Justice: Lessons from the*

*Firestorm*, that incidents like these and others “may seem bizarre, outside the norm, and in a sense they are. But we learn by examining the most blatant cases.”<sup>74</sup> He goes on to say

Establishing a moral consensus will, of necessity, involve the recognition of a higher power. That in turn leads to accountability, and accountability ultimately demands the acceptance of the concepts of right and wrong . . . Building a moral consensus would help us find our lost conscience.<sup>75</sup> Pennsylvania criminal defense attorney Timothy Gorbey pointed out that unless it is a crime of passion, the majority of people in jail are usually there because they did not have a proper value system.<sup>76</sup>

There is a positive alternative. Through the endeavors of groups similar to the Ten Point Coalition, drawing upon Christian, Moslem, Jewish, and other faiths’ traditions, our youth would be exposed to a safer environment in which to grow up; they would have the opportunity to be taught positive values and morals; they would have access to crisis centers and counselors who would be effective in steering at-risk youth away from crime and drugs; the young would know that there are people, to whom they could turn during desperate situations, who would love and care for them and work continually for their physical and emotional safety and well-being. The Reverend Jack Crans, chaplain, Chester County Prison, believes that “the greatest prison ministry in the world is the effective work of a Bible-believing church in a high crime neighborhood.”<sup>77</sup> A statement by the Ten Point Coalition and citywide Clergy against Violence concerning recent events in Boston, puts it plainly:

For us, as religious leaders, the root cause of violence is the spiritual crisis characterized by “a lack of moral vision, a dullness of spirit which the scriptures call ‘hardness of heart.’” This crisis — most apparent among our youth — is manifest in the culture of violence that surrounds us, the availability and use of handguns and other firearms, the sale and abuse of drugs and alcohol, the structural economic injustice that feeds and tolerates unemployment, the economic underdevelopment of communities, the lack of positive activities for our youth, the persistence of racism and ethnic discrimination, the erosion of moral values, and the breakdown of family and community ties.<sup>78</sup>

The Reverend Jeffrey L. Brown, minister of the Cambridge First Union Baptist Church, a founder and member of the coordinating committee of the Ten Point Coalition, and founder of Positive Edge, a Cambridge after-school project, is convinced that “if all of us can come together we can indeed usher in a brighter tomorrow for ourselves and for the generation following.”<sup>79</sup>

### ***Abraham House***

In addition to the role faith-based initiatives can play prior to arrest, it is equally important for them to play a role in aftercare services. The Reverend Jeffrey Brown understands that most inmates who are being released want to improve in their lives, for they do not want to be lured back into old habits. He believes faith-based initiatives can play a crucial role in helping to reorient inmates into their communities, helping them to get a job, become associated with a different circle of friends, and see that there are other avenues for them to turn to.<sup>80</sup>

For example, Abraham House, begun in 1993 through the efforts of chaplains and correctional officers at Rikers Island, New York., opened in Mott Haven, New York, “the poorest congressional district in the United States.”<sup>81</sup> The goal of Abraham House is “to minister to the spiritual, mental and physical needs of offenders to insure a different kind



of reentry experience on their return to life outside. We wanted to set up a 'house of prayer' for prisoners, their children, their families and for those visibly or invisibly present."<sup>82</sup>

Abraham House can be described as a halfway house for men who have recently been released from prison and their families. There are, however, defining characteristics that distinguish it from typical halfway houses. It is centered around family involvement and community support. The men's families live there with them, and counseling programs incorporate all aspects of family life. Within its residential program, Abraham House changes the lives of men through group and individual counseling. The residents "learn to accept responsibility and acquire the social skills needed to return successfully to society. Their activities and progress are monitored, they learn job disciplines and are challenged to believe more deeply in God and in themselves. They need to achieve wholeness to build their new lives."<sup>83</sup>

Abraham House also provides nonresident services to prisoners who have been placed in its custody but are allowed to continue living with their families and to those who have been specially selected as needing additional counseling and have been sentenced to community service by the courts. The facility also provides services such as the Good News Family Center, which assists the families of those in prison through private counseling in a wide number of areas and provides for the opportunity to take classes in English and computers; a Food Pantry program, which serves about fifty Mott Haven families and an additional thirty-five families of prisoners; and the Good News Youth Center, an alternative to the streets, which "provides a safe, secure and welcoming place where the young can come to socialize, relax or receive social services such as after-school tutoring and individual counseling."<sup>84</sup> Its focus is "to enable young people to see their value as individuals and encourage them to be active participants in their neighborhood."<sup>85</sup> Through this program, a local gym is available; group meetings are held there on topics such as parenting, pregnancy, nonviolence, conflict resolution, and social skills training. These intervention endeavors include at-risk youth who have been assigned to Abraham House by the courts.

The primary difference between Abraham House and other halfway houses is not the multitude of aftercare and preventive services it provides but the "belief that Jesus Christ is the head of the house and that the way to the Gospel is the underlying foundation of our existence."<sup>86</sup> The Reverend Pierre Raphael, one of the founders of Abraham House and author of *God Behind Bars: A Prison Chaplain Reflects on the Lord's Prayer*, explains:

We already saw that Abraham House draws its name and inspiration from this forefather of all Christians, Jews and Moslems. This makes Abraham House a nonsectarian program of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York. Whatever their faith, men and women who are in our program are called upon to believe, as Abraham did, more deeply in God and in themselves.<sup>87</sup>

The people of Abraham House understand the importance of helping even one person only, and they are determined to provide a place of hope, security, and direction for those who have been living in isolation and fear. John Cardinal O'Connor, archbishop of New York, commented on one of his visits to Abraham House, "This is one of the most impressive activities I have seen in New York, one of the most impressive in which the church is involved. Lives are simply not rehabilitated, but saved here. Families are being restored. Consider the productive work that will be done by those who have gone through Abraham House, and the savings to society."<sup>88</sup>

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## Essential Education

To effect public policy, we must first start with education. To bring about change, we need to begin educating those who have the most direct contact with prisoners: the staff of correctional officers. They are taught the primary duties of care, custody, and control. They must ensure that inmates do not escape, engage in violent activities, and receive the medical assistance they require.<sup>89</sup> Sergeant Sue Hughes, who has worked at the Massachusetts State Correctional Institute at Walpole since 1980, believes that all staff should be educated on the diversity of religious views. They have no educational training in this area, participating only in a forty-hour security training program each year. She believes that she is unaware of other religious traditions and says that the majority of her staff is unfamiliar with them as well. She said that many of her staff do not practice any religion and therefore do not understand the importance of religion for inmates. She believes that if religious education was incorporated, the beneficial effect would be twofold, because the correctional officers are around the inmates twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.<sup>90</sup>

Mary Dougherty-Hunt believes that all who have direct contact with offenders should be required to go through a training program which includes the following:

1. An understanding of their own religious faith;
2. Education of cultural diversity in order to appreciate different faiths;
3. How to counsel offenders in a nonjudgmental and nonleading manner, so they can come to an acceptance of a higher power in their own way; and
4. Providing for community programs to help offenders incorporate this aspect of spirituality into their lives.

Valerie Mitchel, project coordinator, CiviGenics, Inc., also feels that the most important thing we can do to bring about beneficial changes in the correctional system is to incorporate religious training for those who are directly involved with offenders because they are the ones who spend the most time with them; we “need to get down to a line staff level; if not we will never be able to make changes.”<sup>91</sup>

### *County Corrections Gospel Mission*

The Reverend Jack Crans, of Chester County Prison, Pennsylvania, believes that it makes sense to introduce correctional personnel — the police and criminal justice workers — as the “visible front line of communicating the Word of God,” because they have the most contact with inmates and individuals who are at risk. Crans understands that one cannot change a system without changing the leadership involved. Therefore, he believes that we must “raise the bar” on what constitutes a leader, which he and others are doing through the County Corrections Gospel Mission (CCGM), which draws heavily on an evangelical Christian tradition. The CCGM rests on the motto “Godly leadership makes the difference” and cites Proverbs 29:2, “When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice, but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.”<sup>92</sup>

CCGM is an incorporated Mission Agency headquartered in Coatsville, Pennsylvania, established to address and serve the nation’s spiritual crises now partially reflected in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Systems. A commitment to and burden for the development of a local, national and international strategy which Biblically focuses

on the people groups most impacted by family breakdown, poverty and crime is the aim of its ministry heart.<sup>93</sup>

Directed by the Reverend Crans, CCGM was officially established in 1985 with Chester County Prison and the city of Coatsville as the “center of our work and the ‘school masters’ of our continued burdens and ministries”; however, there has been a strong and definitive pattern of ministry in the surrounding area since 1969. Through the endeavors of CCGM, an array of programs has been established for at-risk youth, mothers, the incarcerated and their families, men who have recently been released from prison, and for the education of criminal justice officials.<sup>94</sup>

Two of CCGM’s most successful endeavors include City Gate, whose involvement is focused on providing aid to men recently released from Chester County Prison, and the Camp at Old Mill, which reaches out to at-risk children. City Gate shelter, founded by Crans and currently directed by Jim Davis, was opened on August 4, 1980. Its mission is to provide “an alternative to the streets, and for sinners in the Coatsville area to have a tangible daily evidence of God’s love.”<sup>95</sup> The shelter provides a set of services for residents, including a three-phase counseling program, help in job training resources, housing referrals, medical care, nightly dinners and ministry, which are open to anyone, prison and children’s ministry, outreach to Pocopson Nursing Home residents, and street evangelism.<sup>96</sup>

The Camp at Old Mill reaches out to inner-city and at-risk youth and seeks to change the lives of those involved “through the teaching of God’s Word, the Bible.” The camp is also home to a variety of year-round programs, including youth Bible clubs, church and youth group retreats, pastor and missionary retreats, and revival services for those who want to worship God in a beautiful camp setting.<sup>97</sup>

### ***The Pointman Leadership Institute***

The Pointman Leadership Institute, headed by Robert L. Vernon, another faith-based initiative aimed at rehabilitation and transformation, is designed to educate those involved with the correctional system in terms of ethics and integrity in leadership, which brings peace to those involved. Its mission is “to support and encourage those in authority with excellent professional training, education, and consulting services . . . to help create a group of men and women who exemplify positive moral character.”<sup>98</sup> Its target population is the top command of the prison systems. It has conducted seminars throughout the world, including Russia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Albania, Mongolia, England, Germany, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and the People’s Republic of China. The institute was scheduled to visit Romania and Bolivia in the fall of 1999. Within the United States, the Pointman Institute has served the Illinois and Oregon Association of Chiefs of Police, the Cincinnati and Kettering, Ohio, police departments, the Southeastern Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, and the Command Officers Seminars in Idaho, Missouri, and Tennessee, plus the Pennsylvania State Police Management Seminar. The seminars focus on the importance of ethics and moral principles to “help leaders develop policies, strategies, and tactics for more dynamic leadership and a smoothly run organization.”<sup>99</sup>

Seminar participants are asked, among other things, to define the meaning of the following words: *leadership, integrity, courage, diligence, discipline, humility, loyalty, optimism, and conviction*. Following each seminar, participants are told that they are free to leave. Those who prefer to remain have the opportunity to address a final component: the spiritual element. In almost every case, three-quarters of the group stay to learn the beneficial results of incorporating spiritual values in their leadership positions. According to



the Reverend Crans, more than half say, "I want to know more [about spirituality], because I need it."<sup>100</sup>

Through the efforts of the institute, many individuals at the top of prison command are being educated to the fact that a loving, trustworthy person of strong character can make the difference in a time of crisis.

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### **Further Public Policy Implications**

Initiatives being explored by individuals and groups around the country have aroused enough interest and support to affect public policy beneficially. Four specific implications include a greater focus on rehabilitation and reentry programs, an increased interest in the needs of juveniles designed to keep them out of jail and promote community involvement, a larger role for faith-based institutions, and continued support for private service providers that successfully do jobs otherwise performed by the state. It is hoped that these initiatives will pave the way and serve as a starting point for continued public policy implications.

Attorney General Janet Reno, recognizing the existing problems in our criminal justice system, proposed one policy solution to the American Bar Association on August 10, 1999, at its annual meeting in Atlanta. Reno promoted the use of "reentry courts" for inmates being released, by "giving defendants treatment and incentives to not repeat their crimes."<sup>101</sup> She pointed to the success of drug courts in Miami and other cities, because they give inmates a chance to succeed in reentry to the community. She pleaded, "Let's give our courts, our judges, what it takes to do justice, what it takes to solve the human problems that bring the cases before them."<sup>102</sup>

Along similar lines, Judge William Toal of the Delaware County Court of Common Pleas, Pennsylvania, is concerned that often people appear before him whose reports indicate that they need to have further aftercare services or inpatient treatment similar to drug and alcohol therapy. Unfortunately, more often than not, there is no outlet to which these individuals can be referred because either the costs are too high and there is no one to pay for them, or there are simply no services available.<sup>103</sup>

Other such courts are being implemented in counties surrounding Philadelphia, but they concentrate on juveniles rather than older offenders. These courts, for juveniles who have committed nonviolent crimes, attempt "to prevent youngsters from becoming hardened criminals while keeping such cases out of the already clogged court systems."<sup>104</sup> These courts, in Montgomery, Delaware, and Chester counties, Pennsylvania, are made up of volunteers within the county and are overseen by an employee of the district attorney's office. A local police department would decide whether to send the juvenile to the youth-aid panel or to the court system. The area volunteers would be responsible for determining the appropriate punishment for the juveniles, which would usually involve a community service, rather than their being sent to a detention center.<sup>105</sup>

In the first-ever Massachusetts Recovery Fair, held at a Dedham jail in August 1999, the goal was to show inmates that there is a better road map to recovery. As at a job fair, representatives from halfway houses, shelters, and treatment centers were invited to the Recovery Fair to talk with inmates about substance-abuse treatment programs and various options with regard to housing available to them on release. Also as in the job market, competition is tough for inmates who desire to enter and participate in aftercare services. Many programs and shelters have long waiting lists, and some have spots set aside for minority groups, for example, African-Americans, Latinos, and veterans.<sup>106</sup>

Strengthening the church connection is another course of action. In July 1999, a conference involving more than one hundred clergy and police chiefs from around the country was held in Washington, D.C., on "the restoration of religious faith in today's youths." Conferees gathered to develop ideas on how to prevent an increase in violence among the nation's youth. The Reverend Jeffrey Brown, who attended the conference, criticized politicians who advocate policies without bothering to understand the people who are affected. Brown commented, "If you want to bring politics into this, then go where your politics lie. Go to the cities."<sup>107</sup>

Robert Vernon was struck by the problem of "arrogant elitism"<sup>108</sup> during his years with the LAPD. He and others in his department continually went into the community to start up beneficial programs to reduce crime in the most violent areas of Los Angeles. Unfortunately, even when the empirical results of their initiatives showed a reduction in crime and enjoyed overwhelming support within the communities involved, these people met opposition from many prominent people in the city whose support they desperately needed to continue to receive funding for their programs. One of their critics expressed his displeasure and criticism by saying that the people in the communities where the programs were being run "don't always know what is best for them, and that this group of community and political leaders from South-Central Los Angeles should decide on such programs for the people."<sup>109</sup>

Persons who are unfamiliar with the positive effects of the privatization of state-run services tend to criticize these industries' attempts to generate a profit by providing to the public services that traditionally were deemed to be the job of the state. However, "as the number of offenders entering and retained in the criminal justice system continues to grow, the costs of the system have exploded, and are now outstripping the taxpayer's ability and willingness to pay."<sup>110</sup> Companies like CiviGenics are turning their efforts to "integrated service solutions to local, state and federal jurisdictions throughout the United States."<sup>111</sup> In the words of its founders, CiviGenics services are beneficial to society and those involved in treatment because they provide closely managed counseling opportunities, specialized programs, public safety, and are essentially tackling the areas where state services have proved to be ineffective. The efforts, accomplishments, and role of companies such as CiviGenics as a "national correctional service provider" can be an important resource in reducing criminal recidivism.<sup>112</sup>

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### **Broader Public Knowledge**

It is important to analyze a small sample of the prison population and the efforts surrounding these people to gain greater insight into specific endeavors and initiatives that are effective. By considering individual cases, one is better able to determine the specific needs of prisoners that must be attended to. Furthermore, by centering on specific projects and how they are effectively implemented and maintained, one can gain the knowledge necessary to carry out additional programs, encourage further initiatives around the country, and find support for the continued growth of these endeavors.

Society must recognize that the jail populations include husbands, sisters, kids, and neighbors. As more individuals become involved, stereotypes will fall and perceptions of the narrow-minded will change.<sup>113</sup> For this to happen, each person must be judged according to his or her personal characteristics, not collectively, for people who are judged collectively are continually victimized.<sup>114</sup>

These problems cannot be ignored or put on the back burner. More often than not,

"the public lends only a distracted ear to anything having to do with prison, even to the people speaking with the best intentions about alternatives to debilitating incarceration."<sup>115</sup> Many people think that inmates are either beyond rehabilitation or not important enough to have time and money spent on them. This, however, could not be further from the truth. Appropriately inscribed over the entrance to each New York prison is Dostoyevsky's warning: "A civilization is judged by what it does with its prisons."<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, the Reverend Crans advises that "taking the spiritual out of corrections takes the strongest arm out of the government and makes it out of control."<sup>117</sup> Will and Ariel Durant pointed out, in *Lessons of History*, "There is no significant example in history, before our time, of a society successfully maintaining moral life without the aid of religion."<sup>118</sup> Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini of Milan, Italy, explained, "When I begin my pastoral visitation to the archdiocese, I begin not with a visit to the cathedral, but to the prison. In this way I want to call attention to the importance of this form of ministry."<sup>119</sup>

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## The Road Ahead

This study helped me gain a better understanding of criminals' needs to effect successful release into a life free of criminal and addictive drug and alcohol habits. It also shed light on the role of values, beliefs, and moral commitments as individuals attempt to free themselves from addiction and failure.

The role of religion in prison settings is important because it develops a positive support network for the inmates as well as comfort for those who have been stripped of their dignity and self-respect.<sup>120</sup> On average, a person who enters the correctional system returns seven times.<sup>121</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that we must take constructive action to address and curb the growing incidence of recidivism. The Reverend Crans believes that a chaplain in a prison, with the power to make a difference in the quality of life of those who are incarcerated, to bring religious awareness to the families, and to help restore the life of the community, plays a pivotal role.<sup>122</sup>

The study helped me better understand what the system is doing to rehabilitate and provide guidance to the incarcerated and to help inmates become desirable members of the community on release. The numerous issues generated by this analysis include the types of programs and projects that work and don't work with respect to preventative criminal measures and rehabilitation methodologies; the extent to which a focus on faith and spirituality is an important part of such efforts; and how small ventures similar to those of CiviGenics, Inc., at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute—Graterford and elsewhere are valuable to society and those involved in the treatment. From considering the successful interventions at Chester County Prison, the Ten Point Coalition, and by the chaplains and correctional officers of Riker's Island whose efforts produced Abraham House, one gains a greater knowledge of the diverse and productive roles faith-based initiatives can play.

Different as they may be, however, the attention to strengthening and sustaining moral identity, thereby providing a motivational framework that nourishes individual and community well-being rather than damaging it, is central to all of them. I found that the most significant transformation comes about when the spiritual realm is incorporated. I am thankful for and look positively on the fact that many of the questions I raised and tested have been raised elsewhere and continue to be raised by numerous people working within and alongside the corrections field. Only by positively tapping into the determination, the focus, and the power of religion — a tapestry of many colors in our richly pluralist



society — can we hope to bring about constructive change in a field dedicated to helping people do the right thing. ❀

*I compiled the major portion of research for this survey at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute—Graterford and through many interviews with current and former inmates and with personnel in the correctional field. The research was part of the independent study I designed for liberal arts credit at Babson College with my faculty adviser, Marcy Murningham, whom I thank for her valuable guidance and support throughout the investigation.*

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## Notes

1. Pierre Raphael, *God Behind Bars: A Prison Chaplain Reflects on the Lord's Prayer* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1999), 31–32.
2. Aileen Soper, "Graterford Prison Plans to Stop Inmate Farming," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 16, 1999.
3. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 60.
4. Interview with Jay Sylvester, director, Residential Substance Abuse Treatment (RSAT) program at Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute-Graterford (hereafter SCI-G), CiviGenics, Inc., July 28, 1999.
5. Interview with Edward McFadden, deputy warden, Chester County Prison, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1999.
6. CiviGenics, Inc., *CiviGenics: Statement of Capabilities*, November 1998, 1.
7. *Ibid.*, 23.
8. Michael J. Sniffen, "Inmate Numbers Rise, but at a Slower Rate," *Boston Globe*, August 6, 1999, A5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Jim Strader, "Prison Heads Always Take the Heat," *Delaware County Sunday Times*, August 22, 1999, 29.
11. Henry G. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1995), 22.
12. *Ibid.*
13. David Kinney, "Medical Prison Designed for Sick, Elderly Inmates," *Delaware County Times*, Summer 1999, Region.
14. Sniffen, "Inmate Numbers Rise," A5.
15. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 119.
16. Sniffen, "Inmate Numbers Rise," A5.
17. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, 19.
18. *Ibid.*, 78.
19. Telephone interview with the Reverend Roland Robinson, August 11, 1999.
20. Interviews: with Imam Tahir Aderonmu, chaplain, SCI-G, July 23, 1999; with the Reverend Jack Crans, chaplain, Chester County Prison, Pennsylvania, director, County Corrections Gospel Mission, Pointman Leadership Institute instructor, August 9, 1999; with the Reverend Edward Neiderhiser, chaplain, SCI-G, July 23, 1999; with the Reverend Michael Rzoncn, chaplain, SCI-G, July 23, 1999; with SCI-G inmates, July 1999.
21. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, 69.
22. Interviews with Group B, four inmates in the SCI-G RSAT program, July 1999.
23. Stephen L. Carter, *Integrity* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1996), 65.
24. *Ibid.*, 237–238.
25. Stephanie Doster, "Learning New Skills In Prison," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 12, 1999, B5.
26. Interview with respondent B-1, Jewish client, RSAT, SCI-G, July 1999. He has since been released to a halfway house for six months.

27. Soper, "Graterford Prison Plans to Stop Inmate Farming."
28. Interview with respondent A-3, Imam of the Sunni Islamic faith, a lifer at SCI-G, July 1999. He was tried as an adult and sent to jail for coconspiracy to murder when he was sixteen years old. At the age of forty-two, he had served time in numerous Pennsylvania state prisons.
27. Soper, "Graterford Prison Plans to Stop Inmate Farming."
28. Interview with respondent A-3, Imam of the Sunni Islamic faith, a lifer at SCI-G, July 1999. He was tried as an adult and sent to jail for coconspiracy to murder when he was sixteen years old. At the age of forty-two, he had served time in numerous Pennsylvania state prisons.
29. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, 112.
30. Rodney Ho, "Mr. Schwalb Puts His Inmates to Work for the Private Sector," *Wall Street Journal*, July 22, 1999, 1, 4.
31. Crans interview.
32. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 23.
33. Interviews: with respondent A-2, a Moslem lifer, SCI-G, July 1999. He runs numerous programs for other inmates, one of which is an introduction to goal setting; with respondent C-2, a Sunni Muslim, July 1999, previously a client of RSAT who was released but violated parole and was returned to SCI-G. He runs two programs, on peer encounters and an introduction to goal setting, for other inmates. Raised as a Jehovah's Witness, he has since embraced Islam.
34. Interview with Dan Armstrong, at Springhaven Country Club, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1999.
35. Respondent A-3.
36. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, 112.
37. Interview with respondent C-1, July 1999. A Moslem inmate and former client of RSAT, he had been released but violated parole and was back at SCI-G. He has since been released on parole and planned to live with his daughter and her husband. Strongly goal oriented, he planned to prove to his family that he is a changed man by paying rent, holding down a job, and fulfilling his duties as a grandfather.
38. For those unfamiliar with the religion, "Moslem" is Arabic for "one who submits" to the word of "Allah," Arabic for "the God" or "the Eternal." There are two primary groups of Islamic believers within Graterford — "Islam" is Arabic for "submission to God" — the Sunni and the Shia. The Sunni represent the orthodox or conservative branch of Islam. The Shi'ites, about one-fifth of the world's Moslems, represent the nonconforming, unorthodox group. Both groups trace their roots back to Mecca and the Qur'an. (Floyd H. Ross and Tynette Hills, *The Great Religions by Which Men Live* [Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1956].) They submit to Allah through *arkan ad-din*, the five basic pillars of faith: *shahadah*, the affirmation that "there is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"; *salah*, the five daily ritual prayers; *zakat*, the giving of alms or charity; *Sawm*, the dawn-to-sunset fast during the lunar month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Moslem year; and *hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Columbia Encyclopedia*, infoplease.com).
- Another group, the Nation of Islam, led by Louis Farrakhan, are black nationalists not recognized by Moslems because they do not follow the tenets of Islam and often resort to violence and racism to make a point.
39. Respondent A-3.
40. Interview with respondent B-4, July 1999; a client of RSAT, SCI-G, he believes in a higher power than himself. He has since been released to a halfway house for six months.
41. Respondent A-3.
42. Respondent C-1.
43. Interview with respondent D-2, July 1999. A Christian who has served numerous sentences lasting from three months to two years in county and state prisons, serving a total of seven to eight years for these sentences, but has been out of prison for about a year. He lives in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, with his wife and two children and works as an auto-body mechanic.

44. Interview with respondent A-1, July 1999, a Christian lifer at Pennsylvania State Correctional Institute-Graterford. Sent to jail when he was twenty-one, he has served time in six of the twenty-seven Pennsylvania state prisons. Forty-four years old, he has married since the interview.
45. Respondent D-2.
46. Interviews: with Stephen Schucraft, criminal defense attorney, Media, Pennsylvania, and former parole officer, at Springhaven Country Club, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1999; with Dennis Woody, criminal defense attorney, Media, July 30, 1999.
47. Respondent A-1.
48. Respondent C-1; respondent D-3, a Catholic who lives in Wilmington, Delaware, with his wife. Out of jail for the past five years, he works as a painter. He has served time for twenty-three of his fifty-two years, but not consecutively, at numerous Pennsylvania state and county prisons, including SCI-G.
49. Interview with respondent B-2, July 1999; a Moslem client of RSAT, SCI-G, he has since been released to a halfway house for six months. Raised as a Catholic, he embraced Islam while serving a ten-year sentence.
50. Respondent A-3.
51. Respondent A-1.
52. Respondent B-1.
53. Interview with the Reverend Alex Hurt, August 16, 1999, at Borders Books & Music, Boston, August 16, 1999.
54. Interview with Barbara Walrath at CiviGenics mid-Atlantic regional office, July 30, 1999.
55. Aderonmu, Neiderhiser, Rzoncn interviews.
56. Ibid.
57. Interviews: with Mary Dougherty-Hunt at CiviGenics mid-Atlantic regional office, July 30, 1999; with John Kenny at SCI-G, July 28, 1999.
58. Interview with Mary Rose Worthington, July 30, 1999.
59. Kenny interview; interview with Amy Pouchet, July 28, 1999, at SCI-G.
60. Pouchet interview.
61. Lisa D. Williamson, "The Hidden Addiction on the Main Line," *Main Line Today*, July 1999, 31-33, 69.
62. Ibid., 70.
63. Covert, *Ministry to the Incarcerated*, 71.
64. Interview, July 1999, with respondent C-3, a Moslem inmate who had been a client of RSAT, was released but violated parole, and was back at SCI-G. The first practicing Moslem in his family, he wished to set up a legacy of service for his children.
65. Respondent D-3.
66. Respondent A-3.
67. Interview with Thomas Rapone, chief operating officer, CiviGenics, former secretary of public safety for the commonwealth of Massachusetts, former Massachusetts commissioner of corrections, former warden, Delaware County Prison, Pennsylvania, former U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, August 4, 1999, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts.
68. Ibid.
69. The Reverend Dr. Ray A. Hammond, the Reverend Eugene F. Rivers III, the Reverend Gilbert A. Thompson, and the Reverend Bruce H. Wall, *Ten Point Proposal for National Church Mobilization to Combat Black-on-Black Violence*, "Fact Sheet — Ten Point Coalition," Boston, October 23, 1993, 1.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., 2.
72. Respondent D-3.
73. Respondent A-3.
74. Robert L. Vernon, *L.A. Justice: Lessons from the Firestorm* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Focus on the Family Publishing, 1993), 183.
75. Ibid., 245.
76. Interview with Timothy Gorbey at Springhaven Country Club, July 30, 1999.



77. Crans interview.
78. Hammond et al., *Ten Point Proposal for National Church Mobilization to Combat Black-on-Black Violence*, "Statement by the Ten Point Coalition and Citywide Clergy against Violence Concerning Recent Events in Boston," Late Summer/Early Fall 1994, 1.
79. Ibid., "Statement by Rev. Jeffrey Brown," May 27, 1994, 2.
80. Telephone interview with the Reverend Jeffrey L. Brown, August 19, 1999.
81. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 120.
82. Ibid., 121.
83. Ibid., 126.
84. Ibid., 127.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., 128.
88. Ibid., 131.
89. Interview with Corey Dierolf, correctional officer on CiviGenics RSAT program block, SCI-G, August 28, 1999.
90. Interview with Susan Hughes, August 4, 1999.
91. Dougherty-Hunt interview; interview with Valerie Mitchel at CiviGenics mid-Atlantic regional office, July 30, 1999.
92. Crans interview.
93. County Corrections Gospel Mission, "County Corrections Gospel Mission: A Strategic Perspective," information pamphlet, Leaman's Advertising, Gap, Pennsylvania, 1999.
94. Ibid.
95. County Corrections Gospel Mission, "Welcome to City Gate," information pamphlet, Leaman's Advertising, 1996.
96. Ibid.; John Corr, "At Shelter, Words of Comfort," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 10, 1999, B2.
97. County Corrections Gospel Mission, "The Camp at Old Mill," information pamphlet, Leaman's Advertising, 1996.
98. Robert L. Vernon, "Pointman Institute Seminars. A Service to Those in Authority: Presenting Time-Tested Principles That Empower Leaders with Wisdom, Conviction, and Character," information pamphlet, 1999.
99. Ibid.
100. Crans interview.
101. Associated Press, "Reno Wants Programs to Help Ex-Inmates," *Boston Globe*, August 11, 1999, A10.
102. Ibid.
103. Interview with the Honorable William R. Toal, Jr., at Springhaven Country Club, July 30, 1999.
104. Meredith Fischer, "Montco to Keep Youths Out of Court," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 27, 1999, B1.
105. Ibid.
106. Judy Radowsky, "Prison Program Maps Out Inmates' Road to Recovery," *Boston Globe*, August 26, 1999, B4.
107. Eun Lee Koh, "On the Front in a War on Youth Strife," *Boston Globe*, July 30, 1999, A12.
108. Vernon, *L.A. Justice*, 227–236.
109. Ibid., 233.
110. CiviGenics, Inc., *Statement of Capabilities*.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Respondent A-1.
114. Respondent A-3.
115. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 22.
116. Ibid., 108.
117. Crans interview.
118. Vernon, *L.A. Justice*, 245.
119. Raphael, *God Behind Bars*, 22–23.

120. Dougherty-Hunt and Worthington interviews.
121. Interview with Christopher Gallagher, deputy warden, Chester County Prison, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1999; McFadden interview.
122. Crans interview.





## ***New England Journal of Public Policy*** ***Guidelines for Contributors***

Authors must adhere to the following guidelines when preparing a manuscript for the journal.

1. Length of manuscript, not including figures, tables, endnotes, and appendixes, should be approximately 24 to 40 *double-spaced* pages of 300 words per page, or 7,000 to 12,000 words, in roman and *italic* fonts only. Please forward three copies of the manuscript to the editor. Once a manuscript is accepted for publication, authors are responsible for providing a WordPerfect or Microsoft Word for Windows diskette copy of the work.
2. Place each *figure* and *table*, *omitting horizontal and vertical lines*, on a separate page and indicate where it should appear in the manuscript. Include below each one, when pertinent, a full note, labeled *Source*, crediting the originator of the data. Should permission to reprint material from the source be necessary, request it and the desired credit line from the copyright holder, in writing, and submit it with the manuscript. Should your methodology require explanation, place it on a separate double-spaced page (or pages, if necessary) with the heading *Methodology*.
3. Provide an *Abstract* — a short summary of the article — of about 150 words, *double-spaced*, as well as a *one-line author identification*. The latter should include professional title(s) and affiliation(s). For articles by more than one author, provide an ID for each.

Example: Shaun O'Connell, professor of English, University of Massachusetts Boston, specializes in contemporary Irish and American literature.

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Robert Frost, "The Gift Outright," in *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, ed. Edward Connery Lathem (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 348.  
Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (New York: Wiley, 1960), 24.

Publication data for citations from a periodical must include, in the following order: full first name or initials and last name of author(s); full title, including subtitle, of article; full name of periodical/journal, including volume and issue numbers, date, and pertinent page number(s). For example:

Shaun O'Connell, "The Infrequent Family: In Search of Boston's Literary Community," *Boston Magazine* 67, no. 1 (January 1975): 44–47.

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Frost, "The Gift Outright," 348.  
Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, 24.  
O'Connell, "Infrequent Family," 44–47.

6. We are happy to answer any questions about these guidelines. Address queries and manuscripts to:

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